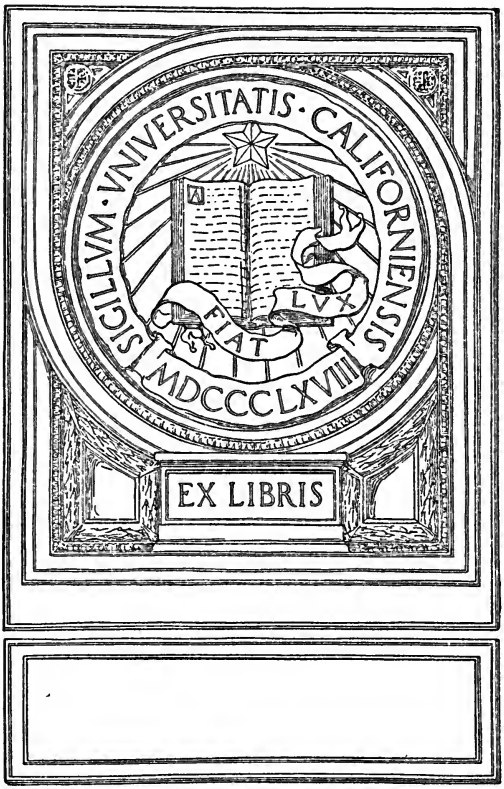
MEMOIRS

OF

Bishop Burke

BY

[illegible] O'BRIEN, D.D.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Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke.

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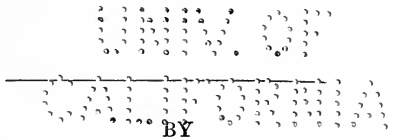
BISHOP OF ZION

First Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia



BY

CORNELIUS O'BRIEN, D.D.

Archbishop of Halifax

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PREFACE.

Although the subject of the following Memoirs was not by birth, a Canadian; yet was he one by adoption, by long years of active service for the public good, and by his love of, and faith in, what his keen foresight gave him a calm and settled assurance would be a great country. Edmund Burke, the brilliant professor, the zealous missionary imperilling his life to prevent unprincipled traders from trafficking in rum with the Indians, the outspoken though courteous controversalist and the successful Bishop, must take a high place amongst the great men who have left their mark on the pages of our history.

But our history is yet to be written; and, so far as we know, biographies in the English language, of any of our great men are rare; although autobiographies, paid for at a certain rate per page, are not uncommon. In many superficial sketches of our history that do exist, poor missionary priests are not honoured by much mention, and yet, they, more than generals or admirals, laid strongly and well the basis of society, and moulded, in no small measure, its opinions, and shaped its actions. We believe that a perusal of the pages of these Memoirs will confirm this assertion.

The writer regrets that the number of hours which could be spared from official duties were not sufficient to enable him to make these Memoirs as full as he should wish. They are accurate, however, as far as they go. The Archives of Quebec, of Halifax, and of the Propaganda, Rome, have been laid under contribution,

and have yielded a rich return in the shape of letters, written by Dr. Burke during the thirty-four years of his life in Canada.

We have not been able to do more than allude to the very important fact, too often overlooked, or denied, that the settlement made at Port Royal by De Monts and Poutrincourt has an unbroken continuity to our day; and that Nova Scotia is the mother of civilization, and her Church the oldest, in English speaking America. Nova Scotia scholars will, we hope, elucidate more fully this interesting point.

The writer has set down naught in malice; historic truth has been sought, and when found it has been given regardless of its adaptation to the views of friend or foe. Any other line of action would be unworthy of a scholar, and an insult to reason.

With the hope that these Memoirs may, in some slight degree, aid in building up a national literature, in increasing a knowledge of, and respect for their subject, and in preparing the way for an Ecclesiastical History of the Maritime Provinces, they are offered to the public.

CALIFORNIA

Memoirs of Rt. Rev. Edmund Burke

CHAPTER I.

FROM IRELAND TO QUEBEC.

IN the summer of 1786 there arrived at Quebec, "friendless and moneyless, a stranger and unknown," as he himself afterwards expressed it, one destined to act, in the New World, many parts with unvarying success, and to leave the impress of his Apostolic labours over vast tracts of the United States, Canada and Nova Scotia. Ancient heroes there were before Agamemnon, but they are unknown to fame because they lacked a poet to recount their deeds and valour—*sacro quia carucre vate*— ; so too many noble missionaries in more recent days have been forgotten,—the rich harvest, from fields which they had sown with toil, and watered with their sweat and their tears, has been ascribed to those who came after them, because, not belonging to a Religious Order, they had no brother to chronicle their actions, and no Society to keep a record of their achievements. As a missionary the secular priest is the most man-forsaken of men in life, and generally the least thought of after death. We do not seek to detract from the glory of members of any Religious Order who have been pioneer missionaries; but it must be noted that usually they had companions, or could easily rejoin them. The secular priest on the other hand went forth alone. Henceforth for him there was no home save the virgin forest; no companionship save that of the savage; no resting place in sickness save the rude wigwam, or perchance a bed of leaves in some sheltered cave. The Recording Angel alone took a note of his sacrifices and labours, and only the loving eye of

our Father in heaven saw his last struggle with, and triumph over the torments of his persecutors, or the ravages of some deadly pestilence. The "crown of justice," however, is his, albeit the wreath of fame may not deck his lonely grave, nor the album of the canonized contain his forgotten name.

Of this glorious army of missionary priests was the subject of this sketch, the Reverend Edmund Burke, afterwards Bishop of Zion, and first Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia. Born in the parish of Maryborough, near Hophall, County Kildare, Ireland, in the year 1753, of parents in comfortable circumstances, he evinced in early life those qualities which mark a soul set apart as sacred to the Lord. In his youth the penal laws were still unrepealed, though not always enforced. Notwithstanding that education for Catholics was under a ban the innate love of Irishmen for learning led them to brave fines, or imprisonment in its pursuit. Sometimes kindly feelings subsisted between the well paid State parson who had no flock, and the hunted priest who had the spiritual charge of thousands. In such cases the Catholics of the district lived without fear of molestation, and could have their schools more or less openly. But to acquire a professional education it was absolutely necessary to go abroad. In early centuries Ireland had been the home of science and knowledge, and strangers flocked to her schools. Now her children were obliged to seek in foreign parts that knowledge which the cruel policy of the invader had made penal at home. Hence young Burke was sent to Paris where he made a brilliant course of studies, and won high honours at its university. especially in philosophy and mathematics. He returned in due time to Ireland and began the work of his ministry. Before many years had elapsed he was made parish priest of the town of Kildare, a not uncertain proof of his character and ability.

Owing to the state of affairs in the political and social life of Ireland at that day, it is not surprising that difficulties, nay, even serious dissensions should arise, and parties be formed, each hotly intent on supporting its own views. Such dissensions appear to have existed in the Diocese of Kildare regarding the appointment of Dr. Delany, in 1783, as Coadjutor Bishop. Father Burke

espoused the cause of Dr. Delany and thereby incurred the ill will of several influential parties in the diocese. The natural outcome was a condition of things as distasteful to Father Burke as it was at variance with the interests of religion. The instincts of the missionary, that had lain dormant in his soul, awoke to life, and on the advice of the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. Carpenter, he resolved to leave Ireland. Through the instrumentality of the Abbé Hussey, who was the agent in London of the Bishop of Quebec, he turned his steps towards Canada, arriving as we have seen at Quebec in the summer of 1786. In a memorial* of Bishop Hubert, of Quebec, dated 20th May, 1790, we read that his predecessor, Mgr. D'Esglis, had sought permission for Irish or English priests to come to Quebec for the instruction of youth in the seminary, or as missionaries to the Indians. The qualities required were. 1st, a testimony from their Bishop as to good life and morals; 2nd, that they should be learned in Philosophy and Theology; 3rd, of a sociable character and devoted to their Ecclesiastical duties; 4th, adapted to lead a regular and laborious life in the seminary; 5th, that they could be sent back if not found suitable. This list of requirements will give a fair idea of the character and attainments of Father Burke, for he was accepted and remained until promoted to higher offices of trust.

On his arrival he was at once received at the Seminary of Quebec, and began in September his duties as Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics. Of his success as Professor we may judge by the fact that he soon became one of the Directors of that venerable seat of learning. The writer, too, of his obituary published in the "Acadian Recorder," Halifax, December 2nd, 1820, says: "He taught (at Quebec) the higher branches of Mathematics and Philosophy with great credit to himself, and benefit to the numerous students, who crowded to hear the lectures of a man celebrated in the University of Paris, as excelling most men of his day in mathematical science, and also the classics, particularly in the Greek and Hebrew languages."

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*Mand. Queb., Vol II.

Having won a position of some eminence by his talents, and the respect and confidence of his ecclesiastical superiors in Quebec by his priestly life, he felt sufficiently independent to write, without endangering his self-respect, to Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, congratulating him on his promotion to that See, and giving his reasons for having left Ireland. It must be borne in mind that Dr. Troy either knew, or could readily ascertain their truth. From a letter dated at the seminary, Quebec, 7th July, 1788 we quote:

My Lord,

You will be surprised, perhaps, to receive a letter from this distant quarter of the world and immediately conclude, as great men generally do, *some grace expected.* No, My Lord, I have no grace or favour to ask or expect. I'm independent (thank Heaven) but I once had the honour of being known to Your Grace and flattered myself with holding a place in your esteem; and as I'm not conscious of any act by which I might have forfeited the good opinion of any man who does not found a judgment on the clamor of cabal and intrigue, I assume the liberty of complimenting, not you, My Lord, on your appointment to the See of Dublin, but the See of Dublin on Your Grace's appointment. I may venture to assert in the sincerity of my heart, that I, at all times, esteemed Doctor Troy, not because a prelate, but as a man of sense and information, unprejudiced in his opinions and unbiased by party or faction.

You must, My Lord, have heard of the several parties and factions which divided the Diocese of Kildare previous to the appointment of Doctor Delany to the coadjutorship of that distracted See. I was thought to possess the confidence and direct the motions of the late Bishop (tho' I never interfered in his business, nor would he permit any man) consequently I incurred the displeasure of disappointed ambition, and after a long struggle was forced to give way to its resentment. Your predecessor Doctor Carpenter (who was pleased to honour me with his esteem) advised me to imitate Jonas. I did so, and friendless and moneyless a stranger and unknown I arrived in Quebec, obtained a place in the seminary which requires

greater talents than these with which the author of nature was pleased to bless me.*

This letter in which we can see the sturdy independence of Father Burke, his respect for legitimate authority, and the consciousness of the rectitude of his past actions, is the first of a series that continued for twenty years to Dr. Troy. On the appointment of Dr. Murray, as coadjutor, Father Burke wrote to him regularly until his death. In the letter above cited he says toward the end: "I never desire or expect to see Ireland, yet I wish to preserve the esteem of a good and virtuous man." That he did preserve it their uninterrupted correspondence abundantly proves.

On October 24th, 1789, he writes to Dr. Troy: "Thank you for a continuation of your esteem, I hope I never shall by any act of mine forfeit it. I send this day to Mr. Hussey, London, a small box containing some essence of Spruce Balsam of Canada, and an extract of a medicinal tree which bears some resemblance to the spruce. * * * I send enclosed printed directions for making spruce beer. The extract is a powerful antiscorbutic and purifier of the blood. * * * The virtues of the Balsam of Canada are well known to every physician, and you will find none so pure as that which I send you."

I fear our physicians in this era of microphobia have outgrown the simple remedies of our grandsires; but the question remains—has life been made happier or more secure by the discovery of the microbe?

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* Arc. Hal.

CHAPTER II.

HIS LIFE IN QUEBEC.

THE years which form the warp of our sketch were crucial ones for the church in Quebec. Although the exercise of religion was perfectly free, and the persons of the clergy respected, still the government sought to acquire a control over ecclesiastical affairs, both in the appointment of the Bishop of Quebec, and in the presentation of the pastors to the chief parishes. Then, too, as the number of Protestant immigrants to Canada increased, there was born a silent desire, and an unspoken resolve, to decatholicize the country, without breaking the articles of the treaty. But there were vigilant watchmen on the towers of Israel. They had known enough of the disasters inflicted on religion, both at home and in France, when the Church had been dragged at the chariot wheels of the State. True, they had not then had the sad object-lesson presented by the France of to-day, when one scarcely knows whether to shed tears of pity at the sight of the enchained helplessness of its bishops and clergy in the meshes of a "concordat," or to be indignant at their not only ready acquiescence in, but frantic defence of this badge of their slavery, whilst making childish pretentions to a freedom which they know they have not. Without this deplorable lesson the ecclesiastical authorities of Quebec had sufficient prudence and firmness to successfully resist the insidious attempts made to enslave, with a view to ultimately destroy. The Church had been disenthralled by the conquest; the conquerors should never forge new shackles to bind it again. This was their resolve; and the day of their triumph, complete and enduring, was to come at last. But anxious years, years of earnest vigilance had to intervene.

The government was desirous of establishing a mixed university, and in August, 1789, Chief Justice Smith submitted their project to

Bishop Hubert. * The object of the government was, apparently a laudable one,—viz., to promote higher education in the province. Dazzled by the brilliancy of the scheme, and not having grasped its far-reaching consequences, Mgr. Bailly, the coadjutor bishop, espoused it warmly. Father Burke, too, appears to have been more or less favourable to the idea, although he prudently held aloof from the discussions which followed. Fresh from a country in which even a secondary education was unattainable by a Catholic, we need not be surprised that he should hail as a boon the offer of a university which "should protect the Catholic and the Protestant," as the scheme read. Moreover he thought a concession on this point, in which to him it seemed no principle was involved, would ward off the indubitable evil of government interference with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. In a letter of June 6th, 1790, he writes: "Without being a prophet I begin to forsee that the Governor intends to take into his hands the presentation to all the livings in the province, and thereby almost annihilate the Bishop's jurisdiction. Such are his instructions from the minister. It would not be difficult to prevent it if the Bishop were tractable, and willing to make some very trifling concessions." † His prevision of the government's action was quite accurate, although the attempt was not made for several years. ‡ But his judgment on the efficacy of the means to prevent it was at fault. The Bishop of the Diocese with his sense of responsibility for the spiritual good of his flock, and aided by the grace of office, opposed the scheme, and preserved intact the Catholic education of his people. Later on one of his successors set for ever at rest all pretentions of the government to meddle with the prerogatives of the Bishop. One fact is strongly brought out by the events of those years, that is, the prudence of Father Burke. He retained the confidence and esteem of his ecclesiastical superiors, as well as the goodwill of the government party. In the letter last cited he writes: "Lord Dorchester expressed his satisfaction at my conduct, remarking that he always thought me a

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* (Mand. Qub. Vol. II.)

† (Arc. Hal.)

‡ (See Mand. Qub. Vol. III.)

good and faithful subject," and adds in parenthesis, not without a touch of quiet humour—(" which by the bye was no more than the truth, as he has kept a watchful eye over all my actions since I came to Quebec.")

Notwithstanding Father Burke was a learned man, and had a great love for the sciences, he felt impelled to active missionary work, and chafed under the professorial yoke. This is apparent in various letters. He was always thinking of the vast fields for evangelical labour that were lying fallow and sterile, and longing to be set free to fertilize them by his ministry, and to reap thereon a rich harvest of souls. In a letter which will be more fully quoted, he says: "You must, My Lord, admit that teaching the catechism is a more rational employment for a priest than giving lectures in astronomy." As the grace of the ministry had been given him, he avows his uneasiness lest his present mode of life should not be in conformity with the state in which Providence had originally placed him. It will sound strange to-day to hear that the "Governor General will not permit me to give a public instruction on any religious subject within the City of Quebec." In 1790 having completed a second course of lectures in philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, he found himself by the rules of the seminary condemned for a time to comparative inaction. His active nature and untiring energy could not calmly consent to this. Could he have given religious conferences in Quebec his lot would have been more endurable; but this was forbidden. He stood, however, high in the esteem of the Government; hence a way appeared open to do service to souls that were in darkness, and the shadow of death, and also to satisfy his own longings for missionary labour. On October 20th, 1790, he therefore wrote to Dr. Troy:

My Lord,—

Your favour of 27th July came safe to hand on the 6th of October. It found me in the most perfect state of idleness. I had just finished a second course of philosophy. I send you a copy of the thesis which the students sustained in the presence of a most brilliant assembly; they acquitted themselves beyond my expectations. We are tenacious of ancient rules; no consideration

could engage us to break any of the statutes of our venerable ancestors; one of these statutes condemns me to two years' rest, and another will at the expiration of that time force me into a state next to inaction, that is to teach one hour per day, and but five days in the week. The Governor General will not permit me to give a public instruction on any religious subject within the City of Quebec; and the Bishop in title will not permit me to leave the town. He thinks our house not sufficiently supplied, though we be seven in number. The coadjutor, an able politician, will not hear of my leaving the town, because he intends to place me as professor of astronomy in a university the charter of which is this instant making out in the council. I need not tell Your Grace that it is not the business of a clergyman * * * There is a vast extent of country north of the lakes, beginning at Lake Ontario, and running westwards to Lake Minitti, and thence to the Pacific Ocean, possessed or claimed by England, in which, though there are a great number of posts and several Indian villages whose inhabitants are Catholics, there is not, nor has there been a single missionary since the conquest of this province. There is not on earth a country where missionaries are more wanted, or a country more difficult of access to strangers, it being absolutely necessary to have a passport from the Governor. I have been so cautious in my political conduct since my arrival in Quebec that I have at length (T.G.) set all prejudices aside, and am on the best terms with the Governor and all the general officers, so that I can obtain a passport when I please, and permission to establish a mission in whatever quarter I please. I have no doubt of being able to obtain a pension from government for the support of a missionary. Let me, therefore, request that you will, My Lord, graciously please to write to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda to obtain a mission for me in that region; and as the sacrament of confirmation was never administered to those poor Catholics, a power of administering that sacrament would be of infinite use, if His Holiness should think proper to grant it, with any other indulgence which may be for the spiritual welfare of an hitherto abandoned people.*

*Arc. Hal.

His desire, however, was not to be gratified for some time. Instead of the wild missions of which he speaks, and to which he longed to go, he was appointed to the quiet and civilized parish of St. Peter, on the Island of Orleans. Here he exercised his ministry with zeal and success for three years or more. But he never lost sight of the abandoned regions north and west of the great lakes. The children of the forest were calling to his soul, and his heart went out in pity at the thought of their desolation. He laboured zealously in the mission confided to his care, but watched and prayed for an opportunity to dispense the graces of the gospel amongst the roving tribes of the west. This yearning desire to follow in the footsteps of the apostles and martyrs, to carry the light of the Gospel, and the graces of the sacraments to the wandering children of the forest, begat a state of mind which Bishop Hubert, missionary though he himself had been, did not quite understand. He took it, as we shall see, for restlessness of spirit and inconstancy of character. It was, however, only the restlessness of the needle until it has reached the attracting pole.

Dr. Troy did not fail to comply with Father Burke's request to write to Rome on his behalf. In the Acts of the Congregation of Propaganda for the year 1792, it is stated that Archbishop Troy, of Dublin, had made known to the Cardinals what Father Burke had related regarding the spiritual destitution of the Catholic Indians beyond Lake Ontario, and, also Father Burke's request to be empowered to go as Apostolic Missionary to their succour, with all necessary faculties. We will now translate literally from the Acts: "The Sacred Congregation before taking any action on the petition, wrote last year to the Bishop of Quebec for information. He replied that Father Burke was prudent, learned, sound in faith and correct in morals; that in the seminary of which he was one of the directors he had taught with much applause the course of Philosophy; that he was deeply versed in the Scriptures, in Theology, and Canon Law. That he had left the seminary to take charge of souls in a mission, with which he was fully satisfied; but he (the Bishop) did not think he would remain long in it by rea-

son of a certain inconsistency of character." (We have already explained this apparent restlessness.)

The Acts go on to state that the Bishop did not think the project opportune; that the wandering French and Indians in those parts came to Canada to receive the Sacraments, but unfortunately did not derive much benefit therefrom, abandoning themselves on their return to drunkenness and profligacy amongst the Indians. Moreover the Illinois now belonged to the Bishop of Baltimore, so that below Lake Ontario there were only two Catholic parishes in the proposed district, and these were attended to by two priests of his diocese. If it should be necessary in the future to establish a vicariate apostolic Bishop Hubert, "would be the first to propose Father Burke." *

Events were slowly working out God's designs, and bringing about the realization of Father Burke's aspirations. From an unexpected quarter the final impulse was given. Some years later writing to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, Father Burke says:—"In the year 1794 Governor Simcoe wrote to Lord Dorchester, Governer-General, that he much desired that a priest, loyal to the king, and of proved fidelity, might be sent to Raisin River, on the west of Lake Erie, to instruct the people in morality and their duty towards the king. The Bishop of Quebec desirous of meeting the wishes of the Governor, appointed me." †

Bishop Hubert in a letter of 21st Nov., 1794, to Propaganda says:—"In sending Rev. Edmund Burke in September last to minister to the Canadians living along Raisin River, seven leagues from Detroit, I gave him a commission of Vicar General for the whole of Upper Canada, but gave him no reason to hope for more." The good Bishop's misunderstanding of Father Burke's character still

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* From this, as well as from what will be said later on, it will very clearly appear that to Father Burke's representations to Propaganda is due the fact that Rome suggested the erection of Upper Canada into a Vicariate years before Bishop Plessis had become Coadjutor. Burke grasped the idea that a whole province, not merely one or two French Canadian parishes, should be spiritually provided for.

† (Arc. Hal.)

continued, for he again refers to his "inconstancy," although he admits his ability to fill with success his new position. We shall see what was, and what might have been Father Burke's success had his plans met with favor and sympathy.

CHAPTER III.

LIFE IN THE FOREST.

IN the autumn of 1794 Father Burke writes a joyous letter to his friend Dr. Troy, telling him that on the morrow he leaves for his distant missions beyond the lakes. It is impossible to form an accurate estimate of the dangers and difficulties of his cheerless journey. Our imagination cannot picture a scene of hardship that will equal the reality. Even a few years ago it was deemed a feat of valour, and worthy of high reward, to conduct a troop of soldiers, partly by railroad, partly by steamer, and only partially through the forest, to Fort Garry, there to face no enemy, there to find the British flag kept flying by the rebels! There were no railways, no steamboats, no roads except a moose trail, or the forest path of the silent Indian. But Father Burke was not daunted by difficulties. Continuing the work of the apostles he emulated their labours, and partook of their hardships and privations. Now he sailed in a clumsy caravel of the period; now he shot down a swift flowing stream in a birch bark canoe; now he tramped over pathless solitudes to reach some stream that might aid him in his progress. At night the star-strewn firmament was his roof; the voices of the woods his lullaby; the wild beasts the only sharers of his lonely watches. Thus he travelled on from one outpost to another, ministering as he went to those whom he found at or near the various forts. From Kingston he writes to the Bishop of Quebec, on 14th October, 1794, saying:

"To-morrow, please God, I leave Kingston, having made the necessary arrangements with the few Catholics who are here, for Rev. Mr. McDonnell, of St. Regis, to visit them twice a year, until such time as Providence shall enable us to establish a missionary here, a thing I ardently desire. For Kingston is the beginning of a large town, and will naturally be the outlet of Upper Canada.

It is, therefore, of importance to place a missionary here as soon as possible, and whilst we stand well with the government. If we could only build a church and priest's house! but the Catholics are too few in number, and too poor to undertake it alone. Without help from Lower Canada the thing is impossible. For a good work which makes for the salvation of souls, Your Lordship will find resources which I cannot point out; and Providence will furnish others of which I cannot even think."

We learn from this letter that Rev. Alex. McDonnell attended some place in Upper Canada, probably New Johnson, but lived at Montreal. His cousin Roderic attended St. Regis, where the Indians had built a nice little church. Father Burke ordered the Rev. Alexander McDonnell to build a church in his mission, and to reside there.

He left Kingston and passed by Niagara, to have an interview with the Governor. He was quite satisfied with its result. Thence he pushed on to Detroit, and after attending to matters there, went still on to Fort Miami, now known as Maumee City, Ohio. Here we find him in February, 1795, being the first English speaking priest to minister in Ohio, as later on he was the first in Western New York. What the country was like, what his own position was, and how frontier battles were fought, we will allow Father Burke himself to describe. It may be noted that his account of the battle between the U. States troops and the Indians, whilst no doubt true, differs widely from more popular versions. Writing from Miami, Feb 2nd, 1795, to Dr. Troy, he says:

My Lord,—

I wrote from Quebec, if I rightly remember, the day before my departure for this country. I am now distant about 500 leagues from Quebec, on the western side of Lake Erie, within a few miles of the Miami Fort lately built by the British Government to prevent the incursions of the Yankees who have been successful in the last campaign against the Indians. Four thousand Americans engaged 1,200 Indians and forced them to retire, only 400 Indian Hurons and Ottawas engaged, and they retreated but a mile an hour before the whole American army. The Indians lost but 15 killed and a

few wounded; the Americans had 301 killed on the spot and double the number wounded, and if all the Indians had come into action an American would not have returned to tell the news. Figure to yourself an army in which every man is his own commanding officer. Stark naked, their bodies painted in a most frightful manner, every man lying flat on his face behind a tree, or stump, and almost indiscernable, advancing or retiring like a rattlesnake, his rifle in his hand, a great knife in his mouth, and his tomahawk on his back held by a leathern girdle, to which is fixed his powder horn and pouch of balls; he loads, levels and fires in that position, and has not the most distant idea of losing a shot. The Indian makes his first fire undiscovered, and then they scatter in every direction, making the most horrid yells.

I am here in the midst of Indians, all heathens. This day a grand council was held in my house by the Ottawas, Chippawas and Poutowatomis. These people receive a certain quantity of Indian corn from government, and I have been appointed to distribute it, that gives me a consequence amongst them which I hope will be useful, as soon as I can speak their language, which is not very difficult.

This is the last and most distant parish inhabited by Catholics on this earth. In it is neither law, justice, nor subjection; you never meet a man, either Indian or Canadian, without his gun in his hand and his knife at his breast. My house is on the banks of a river which falls in the lake, full of fish and fowl of all sorts. The finest climate in the world and the most fertile lands, but no industry. The Indian lives on hunting, the Canadian resembles him nearly. At night the howling of wolves in pursuit of deer, the growling of the bear, the hissing of the rattlesnake, the war-whoop of the Indian and the sound of his rifle are rather disagreeable sounds, but not at all uncommon.

So much for the country, now as to my mission. I am in the administration of Upper Canada, with every Episcopal power, except what requires the Episcopal Order; yet I find a very great want of power, for here the limits of jurisdiction are uncertain and unsettled. The very parish in which I live may be a subject of dis-

pute between the Bishop of Quebec and Baltimore, though it be distant 400 or 500 leagues from either. That gives me some uneasiness. I know no jurisdiction certain but that of His Holiness; besides, confirmation is a sacrament here totally unknown, in a country where there are some thousands of Catholics.*

This letter enables us to realize, to some extent, the dreary condition, less than one hundred years ago, of countries now teeming with large cities, rich in cultivated fields, and everywhere intersected with railroads. We frequently meet in the letters of Father Burke references to the *Sans Culottes* and their emissaries. The words *Sans Culottes* have become almost obsolete, although once on the tongue of everyone; their peculiar tenets and errors are unknown except to the collector of curious opinions. Error has many phases, but they are all evanescent. It is safe to predict that Agnostics and Agnosticism will be as little heard of, and their form of error as much forgotten, fifty years hence, as is Sans-Culottism to-day. In Father Burke's time, however, this latter was as aggressive and as self sufficient as the agnosticism of our generation. It was more violent, too, in its methods, as the following extract from a letter dated at Detroit, 20th May, 1795, will show:

"The Sans Culotte emissaries kept me in continual danger of my life. Murder is no crime amongst them; to avoid it I have been obliged to keep two Christian Indians well armed, who slept in my room together with a hardy Canadian. I never walked out but in company and always armed. Yet I had the consolation to see some people make their Easter Communion, who have been absent twenty or thirty years back. I have lived entirely at the expense of the Government and under its protection. As I am stationed on the Canadian lands, which are ceded to the Americans, I must change my quarters. And a Mr. Frechette, a Canadian clergyman, who resides in the Fort, tells me that he intends to go down to Lower Canada; that embarasses me. I wrote by this post to the Bishop of Baltimore, to give him notice that if he can

* (Arc. Hal.)

send two clergymen to occupy the vacant parishes I will give them the necessary faculties. I do not know where his jurisdiction ends, nor do I believe that he knows it himself. These regions are immense; and capable of occupying a number of missionaries, if there were means to support them."

Rev. Mr. Frechette was in charge of St. Anne's, Detroit, and Rev. Mr. Dufaux of L'Assomption, now Sandwich, Ontario. Father Burke speaks as though at that period Raisin River and Miami were convertible terms. It would appear that his district, St. Antoine, extended south from Raisin River to Miami River, including thus a part of Michigan, and a slice of the State of Ohio. Civilly that territory was subject to England, but a year later it was transferred to the United States.

Writing to the Bishop of Quebec, 2nd February, 1795, Father Burke enters into the details of his vast mission. Whilst the picture is gloomy in its general outline, there are beams of light, and rays of Divine Grace, flashing ever and anon athwart the canvas. The turmoil of a frontier life re-acted on the religious, and necessarily the latter suffered; yet he can add: "God has enabled me to bring back a number to their duty." His lodging was primitive, and his chapel modest. He says: "The Priest's house is not yet finished; I have passed my winter in it almost in the open air, without any servant except the man I brought with me. The upper part serves for a church, and my little portable altar chest contains its only vestments, and its only sacred vessels." He suggests the expediency of placing two priests in Detroit, and two at L'Assomption; and expresses the hope of being able to gather the Poutawatomis of St. Joseph, and the Ottawas of Michillimakinac, into one village. His letters show how quickly he grasped the wants of the situation, and how promptly he suggested adequate measures for its benefit. But partly from the unsettled state of public affairs, and partly, perhaps, from divergent views on the part of the authorities at Quebec, his well planned schemes were not put into execution.

CHAPTER IV.

HIS ZEAL FOR SOULS.

VISIBLE success is not always the true measure of meritorious endeavour, nor a safe criterion of judgment on the worth of an individual. The tiller does not always witness the productiveness of his fields, nor does the sower always garner the ripened harvest. Their work, however, is not in vain; nor is their reward deferred. Many souls were directly saved through the zealous ministrations of Father Burke; very many more indirectly; and his hopes although not realized to the full, were not on that account foundationless. Writing to Rev. Father Plessis, afterwards Bishop, he says:

"Here I am located at Raisin River amongst the Canadians and Ottawas; the latter the more numerous, but unhappily not Christians. But who knows the designs of God? On my arrival I endeavoured to win their favor by giving some little trifle to all who came to me. Shortly after I received an order to furnish them with provisions, and I began to understand them, and to be understood when speaking of every-day affairs. Within two years, please God, I shall be able to address them in their language. I have interrupted all other studies to apply myself entirely to acquire the Ottawa and Huron tongues. It was the devil himself, I think, who invented the Huron language in order to exasperate men! I have good reason to hope that our Lord in his great mercy will gather these poor Hurons again into the fold. The lack of instruction, and drink have caused their fall. I desire to sacrifice myself entirely to the one, and perhaps I shall be able to impede the other. Governor Simcoe is truly desirous of preventing the sale of rum to the Indians, and gave me most precise orders on this point. Thus backed up by the Governor, and with my own strength of character, I am able to make a stout resistance to

the merchants of Detroit and their employees. I have succeeded in this parish (Raisin River). On my arrival everyone sold liquor; now not one is selling it. Possibly fear of the Government rather than ecclesiastical authority, has produced this effect. Even if it be so, what does it signify? the good is accomplished * * * Alas, dear Father, the shortsightedness of the Canadians here is incredible. Wayne makes them believe that the French are coming with him to put them in possession of Detroit, and they have nearly all fallen into the trap. My efforts to undeceive and save them from evident ruin are almost in vain. * * * I hope after a little time to have a nice church here, and a good mission. This will be for someone else; for as soon as I shall have done my work here, and when a priest will be able to live easily, I shall pitch my tent elsewhere, choosing always the worst place for myself. God, I trust, will supply the necessary means. I have never lived more poorly, and I have never enjoyed better health than since my departure from Quebec. Apparently our good Lord knows that I have not time to be sick * * * Tell me, dear Father, all the news both political and ecclesiastical * * * Here one has need of patience and resoluteness. My part is taken; I look upon everything with perfect indifference, and I go my way unheeding what any one may say. Yet I run some risk of personal violence in the midst of a horde of brigands, and *sans-culottes.*"

The difficulties of the situation, as well as some of the characteristics of Father Burke, are revealed by this letter. He encountered greater obstacles from the vices of the civilized, than from the cruelty of the savage. His determined fight against the sale of rum to the Indians made him many unscrupulous enemies, who hampered him in his work. He frequently refers to the evil done by the sale of liquor to the Indians, and to the opposition he met with from dissolute white men—more debased than the savages. Hoping to realize his desire of gathering the scattered Christian Indians into one village, he wrote to a chief of the Poutawatomis as follows:

My son : I have already written to the Christian Poutawatomis of St. Joseph's, asking them to send me two of their chiefs, or other confidential persons, from whom I could learn the best means of gathering together the flock of our Lord. now scattered in the forests, and of bringing them back to the fold. The messenger told me that I would see them at the end of the last moon ; they have not come ; therefore I write to you again by one of your tribe, who will tell you how I desire to see you all, or at least to hear from you. I beseech you not to listen to the evil birds that pass your way, and who endeavour to lead you from God, by turning you from your religion and the obedience you owe to the pastors of the Church. I beg you to assemble your tribe, and to earnestly recommend them to be obedient to God, to observe his commandments, and to offer their prayers to the Father of mercies that he may send them a pastor according to his heart, to lead them in the way of salvation. Peradventure he may listen to and grant their petition. On my part I shall do all I can ; but the success of my efforts is in the hands of God, who disposes all things according to his good will and pleasure. I have many things to say to you, if I could see one of your people. The bearer of this letter is not a Christian ; I wish he were, for he appears to be well disposed. I am, my son, with all sincerity, your father in God,—Ed. Burke, V.G. of Upper Canada.

Like St. Paul, Father Burke had to encounter dangers from false brethren, and to be calumniated by them. He sends the Bishop a copy of a letter, signed by two persons, and written to thwart his efforts on behalf of the Indians. As a specimen of the weapons employed against the truth, we quote :

" My companions : you know, I have always spoken to you as a brother, and that on this accasion I am incapable of lying. Therefore I assure you that he who writes to you is neither a Frenchman nor a priest : he is a scoundrel who has been chosen by the English to deceive and blind you, as Mckie has always done. Believe me ; do not listen to him ; for he should be strung on a gibbet rather than raised on an altar to say mass. I await you here with the canoes," &c.

In a lenghty letter to the Bishop of Quebec, from Detroit, August 28th, 1795, he gives the names, and describes the attempts made by his enemies to stir up the Indians against himself, and the representatives of the Government. Happily the Indians did not believe the infamous lies spread abroad regarding him, and laughed at those who sought to raise a revolt. Eight, however, of his enemies came to Raisin River on a Friday, well armed, and well charged with rum. We will let Father Burke describe the rest: "They passed Saturday in drinking, and on Sunday, half drunk, armed, and in a fury, they came to the church. By good fortune Réaume (he was one whom they sought to injure) was absent, and the weather being inclement the good inhabitants had not come to Mass. Hence I was alone at the mercy of this band of desperadoes. It was an unpleasant predicament; but by God's help I did not lose presence of mind. By force of reasoning with much gentleness, and after having endured many harsh words, especially from one named Panis, a partisan of Navarre's, I quieted them all. They heard mass in silence, and went away without noise * * * It was the special Providence of God that saved my life. Thy Providence, O, Father, governs all things! I am not yet out of danger, however * * * I am obliged to sleep on the floor out of the range of the windows. The howlings of the wolves, however, frighten only mercenaries; I go my way as calmly as if nothing had happensd. The greater number of my people, and some who had been away from the sacraments for several years, performed their Easter duty: that is my consolation!"

In this same letter he says he has received a pension of fifty pounds a year. He finds, however, that Raisin River is not a suitable place of abode for a missionary, and like a prudent general purposes to change his plan of action. He says: "If your lordship will kindly send me the two missionaries for whom I have asked, and withdraw Rev. Mr. Dufaux, I shall place two priests at L'Assomption (Sandwich), and two at Detroit. We will give missions in our turn at Big Rock to the Hurons, who have all returned, and have commenced to build a church, and at Raisin

River where I have completed a presbytery, and where I shall build a church, with the help of our good God. There are also several new hamlets with a dozen, twenty, or thirty houses, at Riviere a la Tranche (now Thames River, Ont.), Huron River, and The Mines, to which a priest should be sent from time to time, to keep alive the faith and to administer the sacraments * * * I have received an answer from the Poutawatomis of St. Joseph's. Two of their chiefs came to see me, and I promised to visit them to baptize their children, and to keep them as well as possible in the faith, until such time as God in his mercy shall provide for their instruction.

"I beg your lordship to send a priest to live with me—*misit illos binos et binos*—he sent them two by two. Always in danger, now from the Indians, now from the *sans culottes*, and without the grace of the sacraments causes me uneasiness."

In a letter of 5th October, 1795, he gives further details regarding the disturbed state of the country, and the great evils arising from the sale of liquor to the Indians. One of his great objects was to stamp out that traffic; another was to prevent the Canadians from mingling with the Indians. He had the consolation of seeing the Hurons returning to the practice of their religion. He baptized sixty children under seven years of age among them. Notwithstanding the dangers and difficulties of the place, seeing it to be desirable, he resolved to pass the winter again at Raisin River.

CHAPTER V.

OTHER CHARACTERISTICS.

THE Missionary must needs be a bold and fearless man, resourceful in council, and prompt in action. He must not be wedded to theories, nor enamoured of any fad. The rugged physical vigour of a Hebrew prophet, and the stern asceticism of St. John the Baptist, must be his; but they should be hidden beneath gentleness of manner, and geniality of conversation. Within God's law he is to be "all things to all men," in order to "win all to Christ." Architect and builder, collector and dispenser of funds, priest, catechist, schoolmaster—these and various other roles must be played by him who devotes his life to the service of missionary work. Obedience, too, must set her seal on his conduct. It is no easy task to combine these varied qualifications; for in the development of courageousness and self-reliance, gentleness is in danger of being crushed out; and the necessity of frequently and promptly deciding in cases of emergency, is calculated to engender and foster a spirit of independence at variance with the obligations of sacerdotal obedience. We have seen how zeal for souls, and many of the qualities just enumerated shine in Father Burke. His gentleness, too, was partially revealed; but the following extracts from his letters will manifest it more fully. Writing in October, 1795 to a missionary with whose zeal and manner of action he as superior of the missions, was not satisfied, says:—

"You are aware, my brother, that we should all be co-labourers in the Vineyard of our Lord with the obligation of helping one another. 'Let each bear the other's load, and thus you will fulfil the law of Christ.' I cannot help avowing that I have not been able to perceive in your conduct any zeal to console us in our trials and tribulations; that your affected silence whilst the ravag-

ing wolves were devouring the Lord's flock, has given me much dissatisfaction and pain. Whilst the emissaries of Satan are aiding one another to advance their work of iniquity, is it permitted to the minister's of the Lord, the God of Peace and Union, that some should be idle, or indifferent, whilst others are being hard pressed by the common enemy? Let us henceforth act in concert; let us unite our forces to advance God's work; let the past be forgotten. *Recedant vetera, nova sint omnia..*

In a letter to the Bishop he relates that this same missionary came to see him, and wanted an explanation of almost every line of a letter of instruction sent him. "I answered him mildly for a time, but at length said—the letter is written in French, you have only to interpret it according to the rules of common sense." Few will think that a harsh saying, under the circumstances, yet Father Burke, adds: "This, I avow, was not sufficiently mild; I was sorry for it, and asked his pardon."

Writing to his bishop from Detroit on 5th November, 1795, he says:

"I have made a resolution not to do anything in this difficult mission without the approbation of your lordship. Left as I am to myself without any one to advise me, should I by any misfortune fail in my duty, I shall have in the wisdom of your lordship a real help; and in order that you may have full knowledge of the country and its needs, I shall give you a general idea of what I know has taken place." He then enters into a lengthy explanation of the discontent and jealousy which prevailed when he first arrived, and of the strained relations between Mr. Baby, lieutenant of the county, and the Commander of the fort. He speaks of the difficulties of the situation by reason of the corruption of the old wood rangers, and the traffic in liquor. He points out the necessity of his being at Niagara during the session of parliament to safeguard the interests of religion; and remarks that the augmentation of his allowance from government, which he confidently expects would enable him to spend some time in Kingston, until a missionary is permanently settled there. He makes various suggestions for the consideration of the bishop regarding the future.

His lordship did not adopt these suggestions, for in a letter of June 7th, 1796, written at Detroit, Father Burke, with true priestly obedience and humility, writes : " I find that your lordship's views do not at all accord with mine. But as the Holy Ghost has placed you to guide the flock, and consequently, to you he has given the lights necessary to lead it in the way of salvation, I feel assured that I shall not be mistaken in following your advice. The foolish conduct of the people of these districts have defeated the projects which I had formed for their spiritual and temporal good, when I had all the means necessary for putting them into execution—as if providence wished to give me a sensible proof that the plans of man are unsubstantial." The country west of the Detroit river was about to pass under the control of the United States. The Bishop of Quebec had expressed some wish for Father Burke to remain at Detroit, for he adds : " I cannot accept the mission of Detroit, for your lordship can readily understand that such a step would give grave displeasure to the government from whom I have received every mark of good will, and would engender a well-founded distrust of all clergymen which might have regrettable consequences in the future. To-day or to morrow I leave for Makinaw to secure a site suitable for a church, and to St. Joseph's Island, whither the fort is transported, to administer the sacraments to the poor people who have been destitute of spiritual ministrations since the death of Father Payet. I shall return by way of Kingston, where after having examined all the circumstances of the case, if I find the interests of this mission would be better promoted by handing it over to the seminary of Montreal, I shall notify your lordship."

He informs the Bishop that the mission at Raisin river gave no other temporal support to him during the year excepting twenty-two bushels of wheat. Nevertheless, he adds, " I continue to live. One finds plenty of resources in providence when one wishes to follow in good faith its designs. Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and its justice, and all these things shall be added unto you." He also informs his lordship that he has received a papal rescript empowering him to administer the sacrament of confirmation, with the bishop's consent, and asks for directions in the

premises. It was through his friend Dr. Troy, of Dublin, that this rescript had been obtained. From his subsequent letters it cannot be learnt whether or not Bishop Hubert authorized him to make use of this faculty.

For the space of nearly two years, he laboured and planned as the Superior of these Western Missions, his usual place of residence being on what is now the United States side of Detroit river. What his difficulties were, and with what zeal and courage, as well as prudence, gentleness and obedience he laboured, are revealed by the extracts we have given from his letters. But political changes were impending which would entail a transfer of base for his missionary operations.

CHAPTER VI.

BACK TO CIVILIZATION.

IN 1796, the conditions of the treaty made two years previously between England and the United States, having been fulfilled, the English troops retired from Fort Miami, which together with Detroit passed under the Dominion of the United States. The national boundary was no longer the Ohio river, but the imaginary line across the lakes which it is to-day. Ecclesiastically, too, the territory in which Father Burke had laboured changed jurisdiction. By an old decree the limits of the diocese of Baltimore were to be co-extensive with the civil boundaries of the United States. Father Burke notified the Bishop of Baltimore of the imminent change, and that Prelate sent the Rev. Mr. Le-Vadou to take charge of Detroit.

Father Burke was most loyal to the English Government, although he was ever ready to oppose and set at naught any attempts which it might make, either openly or covertly against his faith. He had a wholesome old time dislike, too, for revolutionary methods, and was shocked to learn that the new pastor of Detroit had eulogized Washington one Sunday from the pulpit. Such a man could not remain west of the Detroit river; he followed the British flag to its eastern bank in the early summer of 1796. His last letter from Detroit is dated June 7th of that year.

On 22nd July we find him at Niagara on his way to Quebec via Kingston. On August 1st, he writes from Montreal to his Bishop: "After a journey of twenty-five days, here we are, Mr. Fréchette and myself * * * I fear that your lordship's answer to Lord Dorchester may cause me to lose my means of living * * * The project of securing the community of Montreal (that is the Sulpitians) seems an inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and I shall do all that depends on me for its realization,

and I pray your lorpship to think of it unceasingly." In the whole series of his letters Father Burke has only words of praise for the Sulpitian Fathers, or "gentlemen of the seminary," and he longed to see them take charge of the missions of Upper Canada. We shall hear his own words on this point later on. In order to explain the meaning of his remark to his Bishop that he feared lest his lordship's answer to Lord Dorchester might injure him, we subjoin the following extract from a letter to Dr. Troy, dated at Quebec, August 17th, 1796.

My Lord,—

Yours of 30th November, 1795, came to hand in the month of February, near the Miamis, about 400 leagues westward of Quebec. 'Twas not yet decided whether we were to have war or peace with our neighbours, the Yankees, and our situation there was rather critical. The Canadians almost to a man were infected with the new philosophy. An old miscreant who had squandered a property between the brothel and the billiard table, kept a sort of school to teach the young fellows that there was neither a God nor a demon. I was every day in danger of being assassinated; the country in which I lived being ceded by the late treaty, I did not think it proper to remain on that side. It would have given great offence to the government from whom I had received every mark of confidence and at whose expense I was supported. I'm now in Quebec endeavoring to increase my appointment, and am in hopes of succeeding.

An indiscreet answer of the Bishop to my Lord Dorchester has deranged my affairs. He told the governor that 'twas uncertain whether I would remain on the American side of Detroit river or not. His lordship who was on the point of settling my appointment on a liberal scale deferred till my determination was known. In the meanwhile General Prescott arrived, commander-in-chief. My lord's counsellors, who were my best friends, were all thrown out of place, and he himself sailed in a frigate for Europe. The frigate ran aground on the Isle of Anticosti, and my lord is this day with his family at some peasant's lodge in the Bay of Gaspé. I have yet a good friend in General Simcoe, Lieutenant-Governor

of Upper Canada. His secretary gives me the best assurance of his desire to serve me; unfortunately he does not hold the strings of the purse.

Many French clergymen, of good information, are arrived in this country and were greatly wanted. I'm sorry to add that the Canadians look on them with a jealous eye. In the seminary of Quebec, the seat of learning here, they would not admit a man of them, though they evidently want them. Their schools are unfrequented and falling into contempt, and a mean jealously prevented them from employing the men who would bring them into repute.

I'm rejoiced to hear that government patronizes your seminaries. I wait but an answer to set off again to the upper country and continue my mission. I expect the bishop will allow me some clergyman to accompany me, having no ambition to die without the sacraments."*

Father Burke was able to dispel any cloud of suspicion that might have arisen in the minds of government officials regarding his sentiments, and course of action. He was to return to Upper Canada as Vicar General, and superior of the missions, but he realized how sadly inadequate were the means at his disposal for the proper cultivation of that vast missionary field. He was Superior in name, but hampered in action by a restriction of authority. He saw one hope for the evangelization of the land and he laboured to realize it. A sufficient number of true missionaries was of prime necessity; so, also was a certain amount of temporal wealth to meet the requirements of the poorer districts. The community of the Sulpitians possessed both men and means, and moreover were ready to undertake the work. The Bishop's consent alone was required, and to obtain that Father Burke forwarded to his lordship the following memorial. As in all his letters so in this memorial his zeal and disinterestedness are apparent. He saw the harvest ripening, and felt his own inability, from lack both of men and pecuniary resources to garner it successfully.

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*(Arch. Hal.)

He had no petty ambition of being the chief personage in the field; no sordid love of gain; no mean jealousy of the success of other workers. He surveys the ground; grasps its requirements; maps out a course, and is willing to leave the glory of its successful issue to others.

Memorial to Bishop Hubert.

"That your memorialist having attentively examined the local situation of the province of Upper Canada and the rapid progress of its population under the protection of a most vigilant and enlightened government, giving equal liberty to Catholics and sectaries of all denominations, having also considered the advantages which must arise from the establishment of solid and permanent missions in the chief places of resort, and the want of resources in the present infant state of these for the support of missionaries is convinced of the necessity of calling in the assistance of some religious community.

Your memorialist begs leave to represent to your lordship that the community of St. Sulpice appears to him, under every possible point of view, the most eligible; its principles are purely Catholic; it possesses the means, has avowed its readiness to coincide with your lordship's views; is in the confidence of government, or at least is not an object of jealousy.

Your memorialist moreover most humbly represents to your lordship that a mission of three priests living in community at the Assumption is of the last importance: one to attend constantly to the instruction of that extensive and populous settlement, another to perform service on Sundays and holidays for the Canadians and Christian Indians at the new post of Malden, and a third to go annually, immediately after the opening of the navigation to the post of St. Joseph and falls of St. Mary, where an immense number of Canadians employed in the fur trade meet and pass a month or two; and on his return to go from time to time to *chenal écarté* and the River Tranch to attend to the instructions and other spiritual wants of the people scattered in those quarters.

Your memorialist also most humbly represents to your lordship the absolute necessity of two priests living in community either at Kingston or Niagara, the one constantly at the place of residence, and the other to go occasionally and spend at least three months in the year at the other place.

Your memorialist finally begs leave to remark that a mission of the sisters of the congregation consisting of two or three at the least, beyond the meridian of life, under the direction of the chief priest of that mission, with a power of admitting any well-qualified woman into their order would be of manifest utility at the Assumption, and your memorialist is humbly of opinion that resources may be found in that country for their support.

From your lordship's zeal for the glory of Christ, and the spiritual interest of his flock, your memorialist has every reason to hope a favorable attention to these his most humble representations, and that your lordship will take the most speedy and effectual measures with the community of St. Sulpice to reduce them to practice, and your memorialist will ever pray" * * *

Accompanying this memorial was a letter to the bishop dated at Soulange, 26th September, 1796, in which he says: "Mr. Brassier in the name of the seminary has proposed to me to establish missions in Upper Canada, with your lordship's consent; and added that the seminary is disposed to make all necessary efforts for that purpose, even to the bringing of subjects from Europe * * * I see no obstacle to the accomplishment of this project, save the personal interest of Mr. Dufaux (the priest in charge of L'Assumption). To this I reply that when it is a question of the general good of religion, the interest of no individual whomsoever should enter into the calculation. Moreover, your lordship has many other places in the diocese which would amply compensate him."

Death quickly removed what Father Burke considered the only obstacle to the consummation of his desire. Writing from Kingston 3rd October, on his way to Sandwich, he says: he has just heard of the death of Mr. Dufaux from a man named Pratt who was on his way to Quebec with letters for the bishop. He advises his lord-

ship to be on his guard as he suspects the man goes on purpose to deceive him. If his lordship approves of his project relative to the Sulpitians, he begs him to arrange with the Seminary so that two priests may come up the following spring ; he would live with them, and anything remaining "over and above their support he would use, together with all the *componenda*, on behalf of the mission of Kingston."

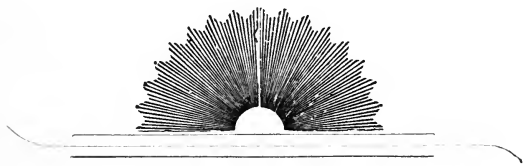
October 25th, he writes : "My lord, here I am after almost endless delays at Chippawa. I had the good fortune to obtain a large lot at Niagara, and another at York (Toronto), two permanent establishments. I shall willingly cede these lands to the seminary, but the buildings must be erected by it. I have not yet drawn my large lot of land, as I am waiting until the location of the Capital shall have been decided on."

Like a skillful general he was studying the field as he journeyed onward, and selecting suitable sites as centres for future operations.

November 2nd, 1796, he writes from L'Assomption : "My lord. I had the honour to write to your lordship from Chippawa ; that same day I reached Fort Erie, and two days after the mouth of the Detroit River —an almost marvelous feat—and on the Vigil of All Saints I arrived at L'Assomption. * * * If your lordship will send me two Sulpitian Fathers according to my proposed plan, I shall open at once a school. All are pleased at this proposal, and I have no doubt some good subjects would be found. There is need of a house for two missionaries at Niagara, it is the most suitable place, and I have given orders to buy a plot of ground for 150 or 200 pounds. I know not where I shall find the money, but God's providence will provide. If this place will afford me a maintainance, I shall apply all my salary from government towards the purchase, and thus I shall accomplish my design."

From Malden he wrote on January 29th, 1797, a long letter to the Bishop detailing the difficulties of the situation, and the dissensions existing both between the French Canadians and the English, and among the French themselves. A new set of laws had been promulgated for Upper Canada, and against some of these a portion of the French Canadians were protesting, urged on, it would

appear by their brethern on the west of Detroit River. Father Burke's voice and influence were ever on the side of law and order. He recognized that the laws, though differing from those of Lower Canada, were good in themselves, and hence he strove to have them observed. The winter passed, spring came, and as no missionaries had arrived, he went once more to Quebec to plead the cause he had at heart.



CHAPTER VII.

STATEMENT OF MISSIONS SENT TO ROME.

IN the August of 1797, Father Burke writes from Quebec to Archbishop Troy that the recall of Lord Dorchester had been disadvantageous to him, but as he had a friend in Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, his allowance had been increased so as to enable him to live. He then continues: "I am forced to tell your Grace that the poor Irish and Scotch, though numerous, are totally neglected by the Canadian clergy. In the towns of Quebec and Montreal, where there are numbers of them, they are destitute of every sort of instruction. A Mr. Saulnier in Montreal, a zealous and able missionary, 'tis true, attends to them in the best manner he can. The Upper Province in which I am stationed is peopled with them, and 'tis of absolute necessity that schools be established for their instruction, and clergymen brought from Ireland until they can be formed here in the province. There is but one parish in this immense tract of country, inhabited by Canadians (that is, French Canadians). If it be just to sacrifice the salvation of thousands to a handful of the most ignorant and impudent fellows that I ever knew, your Grace will determine. The gentleman of St. Sulpice, in the seminary of Montreal, agreed with me to undertake the mission of the whole province, and to procure some missionaries from Ireland, if I could obtain the bishop's consent. I wrote him a strong memorial on that subject. He was content, but declined terminating the business, I believe to avoid jealousies. I have now come three hundred leagues to expostulate with him, and find him unfortunately attacked with a melancholy which renders him incapable of business. I have no hopes from his coadjutor, and have, of course, sent a relation and

memorial to the Prefect of the Propaganda. A community is absolutely necessary to carry on this mission."*

A few days later he wrote to the same Prelate, enclosing his statement of the missions to be forwarded to Propaganda. In this he alludes again to the zeal of the Sulpitians, and their ability and readiness to establish missions in the Upper Province. He contrasts them with the Canadian clergymen, much to the disadvantage of the latter, and adds : "Your Grace can't conceive with what sorrow and indignation I saw the seminary of Quebec, though destitute of subjects, refuse to admit two men, a Mr. Gazet and a Mr. Desjardins, who would do honour to any house. Poor Gazet is now in London, the other man is yet here, but without employment * * * Being upon good terms with the government, I have obtained an acre of land in each of the new towns, and a lot of twelve hundred acres besides, upon which it will be easy to found missions, and which I intend to transfer to the community of St. Sulpice, if I can procure them for the missions. I myself have no funds to build, being obliged to live on my appointments from government, having no ecclesiastical revenue."*

From the Archives of Propaganda we have obtained a copy of the report on the state of the missions, of which Father Burke speaks in the letter just cited. It is dated Quebec. 15th August, 1797, and is addressed to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda. He tells how at the request of Lieutenant Governor Simcoe, the Bishop of Quebec sent him in 1794 to Raisin River. His powers though apparently ample, were in fact rendered illusory by a clause inserted at the end. The banks of the river "are inhabited by about one hundred Canadian families, baptized indeed in the Catholic Church, but wicked men given to every vice, but especially to drunkness and sins against nature. Scarcely can you find a girl of ten years that has not suffered violence." At a distance of thirteen leagues from the mouth of the river, there were two settlements, peopled by the descendants of wood rangers, a "bad race of men, worse than the savages themselves." He tells us war

* Arc. Hal.

was at that time (1794) raging between the United States and the Indians, that the English Government favoured the latter, supplying arms and food, that nearly all the French Canadians in that part were favourable to the Republic. He relates his subsequent attempts to secure the services of the Sulpitian Fathers, and how he had now come to Quebec to lay this matter, as well as other difficulties that impeded his work, personally before the bishop, but found him so broken in health as to be unfit for business. He then continues: "He (Bishop Hubert) appears resolved to transfer the burden of the episcopate to his coadjutor; to this latter an assistant will be at once assigned by the Governor General. I know not who he may be, but it is much to be feared that he may be unsuitable, having only this one merit, that of being acceptable to the Governor General. There are in the diocese some most worthy men, among whom are conspicuous Messrs. LeRoux, Saulnier and Desjardins, natives of France." He points out to the Holy See the abuses which might easily arise, should an ambitious and unprincipled man he appointed through the influence of the Governor General. The danger was a very real one, when we consider all the circumstances of the country. Father Burke was not content with pointing it out; his practical mind suggested the means best adapted to avert a calamity from that source. He says: "There is no remedy for this imminent evil except the erection of Montreal into an Episcopal See. As at present constituted the diocese of Quebec is most vast in extent, running from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Pacific; and no bishop who ever was, or is, or will be, could properly attend to its wants. Right reason demands that over the country east of the eastern boundary of Lower Canada (viz., the Maritime Provinces), which is peopled by English, Scotch and Irish, and their descendants, with a few French, an Apostolic Missionary speaking the English language should be appointed." The diocese of Quebec should, in his view, be limited to that part of the Province which is east of Three Rivers; the remainder of Lower Canada to constitute the new Diocese of Montreal. Speaking of the Sulpitians in Montreal he says: "In their congregation are men of great learning, and of

marked zeal for the glory of God and the good of their neighbour; eloquent in speech they have, within the three years that have elapsed since their arrrival, restored in this city religion that was shaken to its foundations and almost uprooted. If one of these were made bishop, and another given him as coadjutor, so that the office should be annexed to the congregation, a flourishing church would soon be seen instead of one sapped at its roots, and trembling on its foundations. If human intelligence can avail the erection of this diocese is not merely useful, it is altogether necessary."

He points out that the obstacles to this plan, whether coming from the clergy, the government, or the bishop, could be easily overcome.

Regarding the missions of Upper Canada, of which he was then Superior, he deems it a matter of necessity, for many reasons, to withdraw them from the jurisdiction of Quebec. With the exception of the French settlement at Sandwich, the "whole country, he writes, from Lake Huron to the boundary of Lower Canada, is inhabited by English, Scotch and Irish. * * * A few Catholics are scattered amongst them, and in one place there are two hundred Scotch families who came hither from the mountains of Scotland a few years ago. All these speak either English or Gaelic. Hence a Scotch or Irish priest is required for them."

For the conversion of the Indians and the spreading of the true faith amongst the civilized, he believes a congregation to be more suited than secular priests; the members of the former would be more immediately under the eyes of their superiors, whereas secular priests would be hundreds of leagues removed from the observation of the bishop. He then renews his humble supplication that the Holy See would empower him to hand over the missions of Upper Canada to the congregation of Saint Sulpice, and that the missions and Congregation might be immediately dependent on the Holy See.

This remarkable document written in clear and vigorous, if not always classic Latin, shows us how conscientiously Father Burke had studied the situation, and how fully he had thought out his plans for the exaltation of religion. It is idle now, perhaps, to

speculate on what might have been, had his far-seeing policy been pursued. What a brighter page might the ecclesiastical history of Ontario and that of the Maritime Provinces have been, had the incubus of centralization at Quebec been removed at that early day. But owing to the troubled state of affairs in Europe during the subsequent years the Holy See was unable to take action in the premises. The congregation of Propaganda however made a careful synopsis of this document in their transactions, inscribing it *Pro Memoria*, with a view no doubt to utilize it at no distant day. The wording of the synopsis clearly manifests how fully the congregation was impressed by Father Burke's reasoning. But the turmoils of war, the imprisonment of Pius VII, the dispersion of the Cardinals, delayed for twenty years the realization of even a small portion of his plan. The day, nevertheless, was to come, albeit he would not witness it in the flesh, when his scheme would be adopted almost in its entirety. In the meantime having concluded his business in Quebec, and forwarded, through Archbishop Troy, his "Statement of the Missions" to Rome, he retraced the way by lake and forest path to the Upper Province.

CHAPTER VIII.

FOUR BUSY YEARS.

UNSUCCESSFUL in making his views prevail relative to intrusting the missions of Upper Canada to the congregation of St. Sulpice, Father Burke did not discard them, however. For nearly four years after the date of his last letter to Archbishop Troy, quoted above, he laboured almost single handed in the Province of Ontario. The French Canadians in Essex County had their resident priest at Sandwich, but the Irish and Scotch Catholics ever increasing in number, and the many Catholic soldiers were not so well supplied with spiritual attendance. To meet in some degree their wants Father Burke multiplied himself by passing from Niagara to Kingston, to Cataraqui, to York, and various other centres. Without doubt he has the honour of being the Apostle of English speaking Ontario, and the founder of its oldest missions. He secured land for church purposes, celebrated mass, administered the sacraments and preached the word of God in what are now the busy centres of industrial and commercial life in the Province of Ontario.

In the summer of 1798 he went to Montreal again. Bishop Hubert was now dead, and his former coadjutor Mgr. Denault had succeeded him. According to the then prevailing custom in Quebec the new bishop had already a coadjutor; this was none other than Joseph Octave Plessis, who, later on, was destined to play an important part in the history of the church in Canada. Whilst he had been a priest Father Burke had written to him from the far west; he now addresses a letter to him as his superior, on 16th July, 1798. In it he reminds him of his memorial presented to Bishop Hubert, and informs him that the gentlemen of the seminary are prepared to open a mission at Cataraqui, or elsewhere as the bishop may desire. How urgently missionaries were required

in Upper Canada, and how completely justified Father Burke was in his representations of its spiritual destitution, may be gleaned from a letter written at Niagara on 13th September, 1798, to Mgr. Plessis : " Here I am at Niagara instead of having carried out my original design of going on to Detroit, thence returning to Kingston to pass the winter. The commander of the garrison, annoyed by the continual complaints of the civic officials against the Catholic soldiers, who used to frequent the taverns during the hours of service on Sundays, gave orders that officers and men should attend the Protestant service. They had attended for three consecutive Sundays when I represented to the commander the iniquity of this order. He replied that he would send them to mass if the chaplain was there, and he thought it very extraordinary that whilst a chaplain was paid by the King for the battalion instead of attending to his duty he should be in charge of a mission, his men were without religious services, and his sick were dying without the sacraments. You see therefore, that I have reason for stopping short at Niagara ; for we must not permit four companies, of whom three-fourths both of officers and men are Catholics, to frequent the Protestant church. There is a similar order at Cataraqui where the soldiers and sailors are absolutely without spiritual help. I pray you therefore to send Mr. Duval at once to his post, or some one to replace him ; for good sense as well as religion is shocked at seeing a man neglecting a duty for which he is paid by the government ; and people born in the bosom of the church losing every principle of religion by reason of this neglect."

This is a scathing rebuke, but in view of the situation not undeserved. He saw the pressing needs ; he pointed them out ; he suggested opportune remedies. Not having a free hand he could do no more except to redouble his own exertions. This he continued to do.

Although uncompromisingly opposed to the meddling of government in ecclesiastical affairs, he was nevertheless its strong supporter in civil matters, and enjoyed the esteem and confidence of the highest officials. As the country increased in population, and new centres of life were formed, his labours were augmented, and

he had little time for letter writing. One last letter we must notice, however, ere we pass on to the scene of his labours in the east of Canada. On the 25th February, 1800, he wrote from York: "I have come here to see a poor fellow who is to be hanged to-morrow. I shall go, God willing, to Windham to visit the French who are there. Vallier with his wife and children are here * * * The Pope is dead: has a successor been appointed? Who is he? Will we have a jubilee this year? We have great need of it." He then refers to the celebrated Indian Chief Joseph Brandt, who for nearly fifty years had fought the battles of England, in the United States and Canada, and whose son, thirteen years later, led his braves against the invader on Queenston heights. He says: "The famous Brandt, chief of the Mohawks, says he is a Catholic, and has told the governor who has spoken of it to me. The governor looks on this as a species of threat on the part of Brandt; nevertheless he has promised him a missionary in case the village should wish it. They were formerly Protestants; for some years they have not had a minister, if you except a brave fellow who goes once or twice a year—a He-Goat they say. The Indians are not greatly edified by this, and have erected a badly-made idol. A man of Brandt's family called Cut Nose is its priest and protector. Brandt himself has spoken to me two or three times, and has requested me to recommend his son to the seminary, and to ask the professors to instruct him in the Catholic religion, so that he might be able to rule his village and bring them all to the faith in time. I strongly recommend him to you. The young Indian can read and write in English; he is desirous of learning a little Latin and French."

We can see from this what a factor Father Burke was in the social and civil life of the country, and what tantalizing possibilities for good were presented to his keen vision. But, owing to his lack of power, he had the regret of seeing them remain mere possibilities. In the semi-military state of society then existing in Ontario, there were many abuses. Against these Father Burke waged unceasing war, and endeavoured to stem the tide of evil. But the just man is not free from trials, nor safe

from calumny. In the spring of 1801, when, on account of the ague from which he occasionally suffered, he was meditating a trip to Quebec, he had to endure the mortification of false accusations, the baselessness of which he was able to show. At the end of May he arrived in Montreal. For seven years he had laboured in the west; meanwhile events had been so shaping themselves in Nova Scotia that the hour had sounded, when, in God's providence, the clear head, strong arm and faithful heart of Father Burke were to be consecrated to the service of the oldest church in Canada.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CHURCH IN ACADIA.

BEFORE we take up the story of the life and labours of Father Burke in Halifax, some brief notes on the rise and vicissitudes of the Church in Acadia, or Nova Scotia, appear to be indispensible to an intelligent appreciation of his work, and to a correct knowledge of the position which the Church of this province holds in the religious history of North America. Only broad outlines will be traced, since this is rather a biography than a history. Just ideas of men who have done their part on the shifting scene of a nation's history can only be had by considering them in relation to the conditions which preceded, as well as to those which were co-eval with them. Conventional standards subsequent to their time, or customs foreign to their country, are not to be quoted as condemnatory of their actions. History must be read with the eyes of the past, and judgments recorded by its light.

In studying the history of the church in Acadia, the student meets on the very threshold, an historical fact which revolutionizes his ideas, and destroys pretentions that have been long upheld on a basis of chronological inaccuracy. From frequent repetition it has become an unquestioned dictum that Quebec is the oldest city, and its church the first founded, in North America, outside the Spanish colonies. And yet in Nova Scotia the first town was built, and the first church raised to the Almighty. Although the true faith thus early enkindled on our shores, suffered many persecutions and trials, it was never extinguished; it has come down to us with an unbroken continuity, from a period which antedates the arrival of the first priest in Quebec by nearly eleven years. The history of those centuries is romantic and fascinating, but it is outside the scope of these Memoirs. Some gifted pen will one

day make known to an astonished world its chivalry and its glory, the heroic devotion of its missionaries, and the beautiful Christian lives of the simple Acadians, who first exercised the arts of civilization in the valley of Annapolis. It will tell too how the red man, the original lord of Nova Scotia, received with docility the gospel from zealous priests nearly three hundred years ago, preserved its truths with fidelity in days of trial and sore temptation, and how they sing to-day in their soft tongue the sacred canticles of the church, which their forefathers chanted centuries ago in the pine groves of Acadia, or by the laughing waters of the Sissiboo, and the Shubenacadie. We shall merely outline the succession.

In 1604, Rev. Nicholas Aubry and another priest arrived with De Monts, and his first settlers on the shores of the Bay of Fundy. Soon Port Royal, now Annapolis, was founded, an altar set up, the Holy Sacrifice offered, and the mission of the church begun. As already noted, this was eleven years before the first priest had come to Quebec, and four or five before the first attempt to found that city. These dates are important, and settle beyond dispute the priority of Nova Scotia's rights, to be called the mother of religion and civilization, on almost the whole of this continent.

In 1610, Rev. Jesse Fleche or Fleuche, came to Port Royal; he it was whom the Indians first called *Patlias*, meaning Patriarch, a name which the Micmacs still give to every priest. He it was who baptized the Indian chief Mambertou,* renowned in story and nearly two hundred of his people.

Thus the church in Nova Scotia was first in the missionary field, always excepting the Spanish.†

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* Purchas in "Pilgrims" 2nd edit. Book VIII (1617), says in his quaint style: "Membertou carried at his neck the mark of his profession, which was a purse, triangle-wise covered with their imbrodered worke, within which there was somewhat as bigge as a nut, which he said was his divell, called Aoutem. This function is successive, and by tradition they teach the eldest son the myserie of this iniquitie."

† Not merely did priests come to minister to the Christian colonists, but also to propagate the gospel among the heathen. This missionary work continued until all the Indians were brought to the knowledge of the truth.

In 1611 two Jesuit Fathers, Biard and Massé, came to cultivate the new missionary field. The young colony was unfortunately divided in opinion, and dissensions did not fail to arise. With these we have nothing to do.

It may be observed, however, that want of patient research, and the bias of party, have magnified and distorted the not unnatural differences likely to arise in any similar attempt at colonization. That the settlement was steadily prospering, and its trade with France increasing, is beyond dispute.

In the spring of 1613 a shipload of colonists arrived at Port Royal, Father Quentin, S. J., and Brother DuThet were of the number. The vessel that had brought them continued her voyage, after having taken aboard Father Biard, S.J., and some others, to Saint Sauveur, in the mouth of the Pentagoët, now Saint Croix river. A small fort had been previously built at another point on the shore of the Bay of Fundy.

Our children are taught that Port Royal was "taken" in 1613, the impression being conveyed that a battle took place between the English and French forces. As a matter of fact, the two nations were at peace. Notwithstanding this, in the summer of 1613, Samuel Argall, with a party of marauders from Virginia, coasting northward, heard of these French stations. Without further ado he attacked the small band at St. Sauveur. Amongst others Brother DuThet was killed; the two Jesuit Fathers, with a dozen or more of the new colonists, were sent to Virginia, whence after much suffering, several of them got back to France. Argall then sailed for Port Royal, which he found unguarded and unmanned. Not suspecting an enemy in time of peace, the colonists were tilling their fields some miles distant up the river. It was an easy victory, if not a noble act, to set fire to Port Royal, and carry off whatever value it contained. Charles de Biencourt, son of Poutrincourt, in the absence of his father, was commander of the place. Seeing the smoke he hurried to the Fort, but too late. His unarmed followers could not cope with the doers of the dastardly deed. A few of them were carried off, it is said, but certainly

young Biencourt with the vast majority remained in the country. In November Argall sailed from Port Royal for Virginia.

Nearly all writers who have treated this subject have fallen into the error of believing that with the burning of Port Royal the French settlement was broken up. Hence they speak of what had been done as an unsuccessful attempt at colonization; not realizing that Argall's action, whilst undoubtedly a severe blow to the young colony, no more broke the continuity of its life and civil history, than did the sack of Rome by Brennus destroy that of the eternal city. A little patient investigation would have shown this; but then the fiction of Quebec's antiquity, and the riority of its church would have been upset. We do not in this impute dishonesty to any writer. There were many reasons on the surface for accepting this view. The Jesuit Fathers, who have supplied the ground-work for so much of the history of North America, are largely responsible for its birth. The two fathers who had been taken at St. Sauveur and sent to Virginia, returned to France. They had witnessed the destruction of their own station, and had heard, on Argall's return to Virginia, of the sack of Port Royal. They concluded all had been blotted out, and so set it down in their accounts. Subsequent writers accepted, without investigation, this initial error, and turned from what they termed a "temporary" settlement in Acadia, to a permanent one in Quebec. It can be shown, however, that there was no break in the life of De Mont's and Poutrincourt's colony.

In a paper read before the Royal Society of Canada,* Mr Benjamin Sulte has shown very considerable research on this point. It is to be regretted that a prejudice against the Jesuits, scarcely worthy of a writer of history, and a petulance not seemly in what should be a calm, judicial inquiry, together with that inveterate gallic failing of aiming at epigram rather than accuracy, should mar somewhat its pages, and excite distrust. No valid reason is advanced in proof of the insinuations suggested. Neither steamers, nor ocean cables were in use; and the Jesuits may be well excused

*Transactions Vol. II.

for believing that the fate of all had not been dissimilar from their own. As a whole, however, the article is most instructive.

Young Biencourt, whose character Father Biard has highly praised, had no intention of quitting his new home, or relinquishing the seignorial rights of his father. He and many of his colonists had come to love Acadia : they had grown accustomed to its climate, and realized its great possibilities. Disease no longer decimated their numbers. According to Father Biard only two men had died at Port Royal and St. Sauveur, from 1610 to 1613. Hence no sooner had Argall sailed away than they concerted measures for their future. The winter was soon on them, but they lived it through bravely. In the spring Poutrincourt arrived with a ship-load of provisions from France, and other necessaries for his colonists. We can imagine their joy, and how hopeful for the future were their hearts Poutrincourt went back to France intending to return ; but owing to internal complications there, he was appointed to the command of Merry-sur-Seine. Defending this place Poutrincourt, the first seignorial lord of Acadia, fell on December 5th, 1615. His son succeeded to his title, and rallied his men around Port Royal, which they rebuilt. A saw-mill and grist-mills were soon at work. Aided by the friendly Indians they lived and throve apace, both at Port Royal and on the La Have river. Tilled fields supplied grain and vegetables ; some cattle had escaped the pillage ; the waters around the coast yielded a rich harvest of fish ; the woods supplied an abundance of game, and better still, rich furs which they exchanged with passing vessels for clothing and ammunition. Posts were soon established at Cap Fourchu, now Yarmouth, at Cap Sable and La Have. In 1618 Biencourt, who was now Sieur of Poutrincourt, wrote from "Port Royal in New France" on 1st September, to the authorities of Paris, urging them to send out colonists. This interesting document is of great historic value ; it emphasizes what we have said of the continuity of the first settlement, and affords an incontrovertible proof of its reality. It points out the many advantages of immigration to the immigrants themselves, to France and to Acadia. It tells how the writer and his men have

explored the country, and know it well, and that he "would not exchange this land for Peru if it were properly settled." With prophetic foresight he warns his countrymen that the English will soon settle on the shores of New England, and endanger the safety of Port Royal.*

The following spring three Recollet Fathers came over, one of whom went to Port Royal. The hardy colonists prospered and expanded; and so great was the commercial intercourse, between France and Acadia, that many hundred vessels went to and fro in 1621. And when the first Scotch settlers, under the grant from James I., came over in 1623 expecting to find an unoccupied territory, they were obliged to beat a hasty retreat. Biencourt died that same year; but from that date onward, no question has ever been raised as to the presence of the French in Acadia. The long series of struggles for the next 130 years speak for themselves.

It would be out of place to go more fully into this fascinating subject. Enough has been said to bring into bold relief the fact that years before Quebec had been founded, or the Mayflower had been moored to Plymouth rock, an enduring settlement had been established in Nova Scotia, the sacred fire had been enkindled, and the truths of the Gospel taught to the untutored Indian. Owing to greater security of situation the French nation favoured the settlements on the St. Lawrence, and bent its energies to develop their resources. Thus Quebec became the fixed seat of their transatlantic power, and eventually the ecclesiastical head, and centre of the French dominions in the new world. But it was not so from the beginning.

It will be of interest to add a few more notes on the varying fortunes of the Acadians and of the Church which they loved so well. The first Bishop of Quebec, Mgr. Laval, in a report of his Diocese sent to Rome 1660,† speaks of Acadia as the "Home of the French nearest the ocean, whither very many ships come, especially on account of its wonderful fisheries of cod." And in another Report of 20th October, 1664, he says "It is an extensive

*See Appendix B.

†Mand. Queb. Vol. I.

and fertile country, having three military stations fortified with ditches, mounds, and cannon."

In 1686, Bishop Vallier, after his appointment, but before his consecration, visited Acadia. In a letter to a friend,* he gives a graphic description of his journey. It is nothing now to come from Quebec to Halifax, but two hundred years ago it was a feat little, if at all less perilous than Stanley's expedition. We shall not trace the course of his wanderings, but shall meet him at Beaubassin; he truly says its "situation is charming." Ten years previously a small colony had gone thither from Port Royal ; a Recollet Father had been their pastor, but he had just been recalled to Quebec to become Superior of their House. Bishop Vallier appointed one of his priests to this mission. From Beaubassin the Bishop crossed to the Mines, now since Longfellow's poetic but unmeaning corruption, called Minas. Thence he made his way to Port Royal. He found the "Church quite pretty," and "reasonably well provided with everything." He left a priest here to assist the worthy pastor. We can gather from all this the substantial and permanent nature of the progress made from 1604 to 1686.† And in this we have not referred to the permanent mission in Cheadabucto and places in Cape Breton. A few extracts from a letter written a year previously by the Pastor of Port Royal to the Bishop, may well be cited. They show the character of the people as painted by their spiritual father. The Bishop says he forund the account accurate ; and seventy years later, one who had borne a part in their expulsion from Bay Verte, gives similar testimony.‡ The Pastor writes: "There are about six hundred souls (at Port Royal), people of a gentle disposition, and piously inclined ; swearing, debauchery and drunkness are unknown amongst them. Although they are scattered along the River for four or five leagues, they come in crowds to the church on Sundays and holidays, and receive frequently the sacraments."

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*Mand. Queb., Vol I. †See Appendix C.

‡Brook Watson. (N.S Hist. Soc. Vol. II).

The good priest takes no credit to himself for this exemplary conduct of his people, but expressly says : "I found them such on my arrival," and this notwithstanding they had been without a pastor for several years during the English occupation. His Sunday work is thus described : "On that day we always sing a High Mass, and I give a plain instruction according to my poor power, and adapted to the capacity of my audience ; at two o'clock we sing Vespers, and give benediction of the most Holy Sacrament, after which I teach catechism to the children."

A school for girls taught by a sister, and one for boys gave testimony to the enlightened zeal of the Missionary, and showed the Church to be in Acadia what she had been in Europe, the pioneer of education as well as of religion. We know not where, or how, this brave old priest died.* Every true lover of his country will hope that the dust of such a man has mingled with and sanctified the soil of Nova Scotia.

The above bright picture was soon darkened by the smoke of battle ; the peaceful hamlet was again harried by war ; the Church and Sanctuary were made desolate ; Port Royal was captured by the English in 1690, but soon reverted to the French. In 1701 Sister Chauson, of the Congregation of the Daughters of the Cross, gives a description of the place, which is in sad contrast with the pleasing one, drawn by the Bishop fifteen years previously, and makes us realize the many drawbacks to the propagation of the faith in Acadia. Rev. Mr. Geoffroy, a Sulpitian, had sent Sister Chauson to Port Royal to teach, and this is what she has to say : "Our Church is in frightful poverty, its only covering is straw, the walls are of logs, and instead of glass for the windows we have paper. There is no bell, and the people are called to prayer by the beating of a drum. * * * There is no crucifix, no picture, no censsr, no vases for the wine and water, no finger towels ; there is no drawer in which to keep the two or three old sets of vestments, and a couple of much used albs. But what is still more deplorable, the most Holy Sacrament is kept in a small wooden

*See Appendix C towards end for a knowledge of his fate.

box, composed of four boards nailed together. This is the Tabernacle in which the God of heaven and earth resides. The English carried off a suitable Tabernacle that was here, also the sacred vessels and the rest. In a word everything is wanting. Assuredly our loving Saviour was not more poorly housed in the stable at Bethlehem than here."*

Stirring times soon followed: Port Royal in 1710, was again captured, and in 1713 Acadia was ceded to England, and the people promised freedom of worship. The French population rapidly increased, and by the year 1755 they numbered many thousands.† Ere that all the Micmacs had become fervent Catholics, and a few Irish and Scotch had come to take up and continue the mission of the Church.

The tragedy of the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, is a blood stain, which like Pilate's hands, cannot be cleansed by all the water of the Bay of Fundy, nor covered over by the subtile ingenuity of modern apologists, The English government is not to blame; the foul deed was the work of New England, of men who were brave against a defenceless peasantry, but who, later on, were either too cowardly to fight for their king, or too craven to strike a blow for liberty. By a most grotesque misnomer they are known in history as "Loyalists." It is true many of the actors in that tragic scene had the grace to be ashamed of the part they had played. When they strode amidst the smoking ruins of Grand Pré, with no enemy to fight, and no friend to protect, when they saw the dumb animals seeking in vain for their former masters, and heard again, in imagination, the wailings of the little ones so ruthlessly cast forth, and recalled the agony of wives and children vainly pleading to be allowed to join their husbands and fathers, their sense of manhood was aroused. They awoke to a keen realization of the dastardly nature of this cruel act, so heartlessly executed, and they knew they had been engaged in an expedition unworthy of soldiers. Had they forseen the apologists of this expulsion, they would

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*L'Eglise D Amerique du Nord Vol. II. †See Appendix D.

doubtless have cursed their folly in not allowing the cold veil of silence to hide, undisturbed, the ghastly deed.

But the Church never dies. In this case her numbers were decreased, her children scattered, still there was left a seed in Israel. Father Descenclaves with some refugees took shelter in the woods of Argyle. Father Maillard was permitted to minister to the Indians, and a few Acadian families near Halifax. In 1760 he was made Administrator of Acadia, and died in Halifax in 1762. His many good qualities had won the admiration of his former enemies, and he continued the work of his ministry from 1755 until his death. Owing to the high esteem in which he was held by all classes, and to the fact that he was buried in the Protestant cemetery, it was supposed by some that he had fallen from the faith. As there was no Catholic burying ground in Halifax until several years after his death, he had perforce to be laid to rest in the Protestant cemetery. His ecclesiastical superiors bear testimony to his well spent life. This is a sufficient vindication. He was succeeded by Père Bailly in 1768.

CHAPTER X.

The Church in Halifax.

ASSIMILATION, growth and development, are characteristics of all living organisms; they are verified alike in plants and animals without destroying their identity, or effecting any change in the essentials of their nature. The tiny oak through assimilation develops into a mighty tree; the wailing infant, by a not unsimilar process, waxes into a strong and vigorous man; the various stages through which they have passed may be enumerated; but the tree was always the same oak; and the child, the boy, the man always identical with himself in nature and being. So too the Catholic Church in its long life of nineteen centuries, both as a whole, and in its various parts, has been engrafting wild shrubs on the living vine, or assimilating the various tribes of mankind, thus growing in numbers, developing in organization and methods of teaching, in harmony with the requirements of successive ages, yet always the self-same in faith, in obedience and means of holiness. Hence what we call the Church in Halifax does not differ from, nor is it a distinct foundation from the Church of Acadia. It is simply a continuous development of the mustard seed sown at Port Royal in 1604. At first its membership was exclusively French; then the Micmacs were engrafted on the true vine; later on Irish and Scotch Catholics, in small numbers it is true, came to increase its growth. By the expulsion of the Acadians the preponderance of French members was indeed destroyed, but not the Church. Its vital powers were unharmed, and growth and development began again. The centre of its activity, however, was changed, as well as the language of a large majority of its members; hence we speak of it as the Church in Halifax.

In the year 1749 Halifax was founded, and soon became, what it has ever since remained, the chief harbor and stronghold of the

British Empire in America. In its early history we can easily discern the sinister influence of the Plymouth Rock Puritan. To him in great part must be ascribed the expulsion of the Acadians, as well as the penal laws against Catholics.

In 1758 the Government at Halifax undertook to provide for the spiritual as well as the temporal well-being of the province. Its first Act was one to "Confirm titles in land." Section second of this Act, however, says: "Provided that no Papist hereafter shall have any right or title to hold, possess or enjoy any lands or tenements, other than by virtue of any grant, or grants from the Crown, but that all deeds, or wills, hereafter made, conveying lands or tenements to any Papist, or in trust for any Papist, shall be utterly null and void."* Not even his mother's grave could the poor Catholic Irishmen own. Yet he came and throve. He appears to be as insuppressable as his religion.

Having thus enacted that no Papist could become a landholder by ordinary course, the Government went on to pass an "Act for the establishment of religious public worship in the Province, and for suppressing popery." It did indeed seem fitting, that after having so happily provided for the temporal good, the pious Government should look to the spiritual interests of the inhabitants. The preamble has the true puritanical flavour of cant, cruelty and callousness. Section first decrees the establishment of the Church of England, but grants liberty of conscience to Protestant dissenters, Calvanists, Lutherans and Quakers, and exempts them from taxation for the support of the Church of England.

But no such concession could be made to the Church of all the Ages. No; it was decreed that "every popish person exercising any Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and every popish priest, or person exercising the functions of a popish priest, shall depart out of this Province on or before the 25th of March, 1759."†That it might be known this was no idle notice, all such were warned, that if found after that date, upon conviction, they would be adjudged to suffer perpetual imprisonment, escape from which would be deemed felony

*Laws of Nova Scotia. Vol. I. †Ibidem.

"without benefit of clergy." No chance for body or soul, so far as the Government could prevent it.

Lest the compassion of individuals should frustrate this law, it was further enacted that persons harbouring, relieving, concealing any popish priest, should be fined fifty pounds, and be adjudged to be set in the pillory, and to find sureties for good behaviour, at the discretion of the Court. All this seems incredible. We at first refuse to believe that the kindly act of giving a meal, or a night's shelter to a hunted famishing priest, could condemn, even a strict Protestant to the pillory. Yet we have only to read 32 George 2nd to be convinced.

With such stringent laws, backed by a large military force, "Papal aggression" appeared a remote contingency. But the Church refuses to be suppressed. Her vital force is indestructable and it cannot remain unfruitful. It was created for action and propagation, and no power of man, or devils, can impede this law of its being. The Church has broken down and triumphed over persecutions innumerable; her assailants die and are forgotten; their lighted torches burn out; their racks are broken; their dungeons razed to the ground; their shackles mouldering to dust; but the benign Mother of Nations, in her strong gentleness lives on, unfearing and undeterred, as ready to-day as of yore to enter the lists against tyrants, and to champion the rights of conscience. In a cold material age when men are accounted as so many factors in an arithmetical computation, and the supernatural made the gibe and the sneer of a superficial generation, the Church presents herself to the consideration of men of goodwill, as the one spiritual force that the maelstrom of modern unbelief and animalism has been as unsuccessful in destroying, as were the old time persecutors with fire and sword. Her history even in this Province, if studied aright, will prove that she is of God.

Notwithstanding the fierce enactments of 1758 (we do not call them laws, because being essentially unjust they had no binding force) the ubiquitous Irish Catholic came serenely to the front. In 1759, Mr. Tobin, many of whose numerous descendants have held high place in the commercial and social world, came hither to fix his abode.

Some Catholics had preceded him, others quickly followed.* The Abbé Maillard, who had made peace with the English in 1759, and who had been ministering to the Indians, and had disarmed their wrath against the English, was now living in Halifax, and surreptitiously attended to the spiritual wants of the Irish Catholics. The days of the catacombs were renewed for the Church in Halifax; yet the work went on, and we may reasonably conclude that the exemplary conduct, and pure faith of to-day, are part of the blessings purchased by the sacrifices of the early Haligonian Catholics.

In 1766, the government, still under malign foreign influences, passed an Act regarding education. By it the aspirant to the pedagogic throne and birchen sceptre, should first be examined by the Church of England minister of the place, or where there was no minister, by two justices of the peace, a certificate having been obtained, and the prescribed oaths having been taken, a license to teach was granted, and the village master went forth conquering and to conquer. But it would never do to allow a Catholic to mount the tripod and wield the rod of discipline. No! it was cautiously provided, that, "if any popish recusant, papist, or person professing the popish religion, *shall be so presumptious* as to set up any school within the province, and be detected therein, such offender shall for every such offence, suffer three months imprisonment, without bail or mainprize, and shall pay fine to the King of £10."† So far as these diabolical statutes could effect it, the Catholic was to be landless, pastorless, and teacherless. Body, soul and intellect were to be starved; the price of intellectual food was apostacy. What was better calculated to degrade a race, and yet who will dare assert that the Irish race, poor though they were, and unlettered as they were forced to be, were ever either ignorant or degraded? No! their faith saved them from degradation, and more than supplied the lack of mere book knowledge.

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*In 1760, according to a letter of one of its inhabitants, of the 3000 then in Halifax, "one-third are Irish, and many of them Roman Catholics" (Haliburton Vol II., page 12-13). We may be quite sure, the major part of them were R. Catholics.

†Laws of N. S., Vol. I.

In the meantime whilst the number of Catholics in Halifax was quietly augmenting, many of the exiled Acadians had made their way back to Nova Scotia, and had settled at St. Mary's Bay, and elsewhere. Rev. Mr. Bailly came in 1768, at the request of the Governor, urged thereto by the Indians, to continue the work of Abbé Maillard. He was young and vigorous, and full of zeal, qualities that were essential to the missionary who had so vast a field to cultivate. Governor Franklin received him well, as did also his successor Governor Campbell. Writing from Halifax 23rd May, 1769, to the Bishop of Quebec, he points out the difficulties of the Mission owing to the people being scattered in all directions. On 22nd July, of same year, he says he has experienced many favours from Governor Campbell and his Council; that they had obtained for him an allowance of one hundred pounds from the King. We see by this that the atmosphere of Halifax was always a dissolvent of bigotry. The firebrand never flourished in the old city by the sea. There is some subtle broadening influence in the ocean air which makes the Haligonian intellectually large brained, and develops generosity of spirit. Nowhere on this continent perhaps, were more stringent penal statutes enacted, and nowhere did they so quickly become obsolete: and nowhere has there been so little persecution, and so much kindly feeling between Catholics and Protestants. A few bigots occasionally came, as they still come hither. Thus Father Bailly writing from Halifax, 24th April, 1771, says: "The Government appears opposed to the increase of missionaries, and all this opposition comes from the Presbyterians and the people of New England. Last winter I said mass for three months in this town, when suddenly I had to seek a secluded spot six miles from the town in order to celebrate on Sundays.* I need not have done this had I consented to shut the door of the *barn*, wherein I had been saying mass, against all, except the Acadians and Indians. * * * The Governor continues to honour me with his protection, as do also the principal persons. * * * Two Presbyterian ministers have preached publicly against me; I have

*Les Acadiens Apres leurs Dispersion, Abbe Casgrain.

been named in the papers. They say if the King is permitted to place a priest in Nova Scotia, it will have to be tolerated should he put one in Boston. The establishment of a priest in Nova Scotia is, they say, the disgrace of the present reign."* Poor men! how they would have groaned in anguish of spirit had the veil of futurity been drawn aside, and the priests and churches of Boston and Nova Scotia of to-day been presented to their gaze. Surely thoughtful men can learn a great lesson from this letter of the young missionary.

Father Bailly was succeeded shortly after this by Père Labrosse; and within a not lengthy space of time Father Bourg, the son of one of the expelled, came to minister to the returned exiles. This latter zealous missionary did noble work for many years in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and kept the Altar fires alight until the dawn of a new era for Holy Church, as well as for the persecuted, though faithful Acadian. The Abbé Casgrain in his paper on the "Acadians after their dispersion," recognizes that a new era began about the year 1783, but he has failed to attribute its rise to its true cause; or to point out to whom the Acadians, especially of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, are indebted for missionaries.

It was indeed a race of martyrs who came to the aid and rescue of the sorely afflicted Acadians, but they were not their brothers in blood. Some Frenchmen it is true were procured later on; but the men who broke the fetters, throttled the persecuting bigots, asserted and enforced the rights of all Catholics, and made the Acadians what they are to-day, were the sons of Erin, mailed in the unshaken faith of their martyred ancestors. The Archives of Quebec and Halifax prove this.

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*This secluded spot, or literally as Father Bailly has it, "a hole in the country" was Birch Cove. In 1769 Father Bailly baptised a child there. That same year he advised some Acadian families who lived near Halifax to go to Minudie and take up land. This they did, as a daughter of one of them informed Mr. P. Gaudet, to whom I am indebted for these facts. We can safely conclude, therefore, that Birch Cove was the spot. It is about six miles from town; it was at that time most secluded; there were Catholics there as the Register of Baptism proves. The barn in which he had celebrated mass, previously was, as local tradition has it, owned by Mr. Michael Tobin, and stood on South street, almost opposite "Hillside House." As already mentioned, Mr. Tobin, came to Halifax in 1759.

CHAPTER XI.

The Church in Halifax, (*continued*).

FOR years the small colony of Irish Catholics had been slowly but surely increasing in Halifax. Irishmen are popularly supposed to be volatile of disposition, and changeful of purpose; yet history will bear us out that they come to stay wherever they once fix an abode. More than this; they soon take a leading part in public affairs, or business enterprises. With a keen sense of justice they disregard unjust statutes, falsely called laws, and thus quickly force them into abeyance. The Englishman's standard of right and wrong is the law; an Irishman's, the dictates of justice; the Englishman may be law-abiding, but the Irishman is justice-loving. It is this correct placing of justice above law, that fitted Irishmen for the glorious work they have achieved, of breaking down tyranny within the Empire, as well as in many parts of the United States.

In 1783, the Catholics of Halifax, composed of loyalists and emigrants, chiefly from Munster, though still a very small minority, deemed it time to demand their rights. Accordingly, William Meany, John Cody, James Kavanagh, John Mullowny and John Murphy, "on behalf of themselves and others, His Majesty's natural born subjects, professing the Roman Catholic religion in this Province," addressed a petition to Governor Hammond, asking for a repeal of, or amendment to, the penal statutes. The obnoxious clauses of the "Act for confirming titles to land," and of the one "regarding public woship," were repealed. Catholics could now hold and acquire land, and could build churches and have their priests to minister to them, provided they (the priests) had a license from the Governor, and took a certain prescribed oath. Conscience was not violated by taking this oath, although some of its clauses were insulting, in that they assumed Catholics had held

certain tenets, which existed only in the diseased imagination of their enemies. This act of justice was performed in 1783, not in 1782 as some have thought. We have consulted the statutes themselves, so there can be no doubt on this point. The five brave men who had sent the petition, now addressed a letter of thanks to the Governor, and a circular to their fellow Catholics abroad. No time was lost: the highly eligible site, whereon now stands St. Mary's Cathedral, fronting on Spring Garden road, and running from Barrington to Grafton street, was purchased, and on Monday, 19th July, 1784, the frame of the first Catholic church was raised in Halifax, "in presence of a great concourse of gentlemen and other people."

It was an unpretentious structure, to which some ten years later a spire and bell tower were added. It stood back from Grafton street, on which it faced, quite a distance, occupying almost the site of the present chancel of St. Mary's Cathedral. The intermediate space was used as a burial ground, to which there was an entrance from Grafton street; but the approach to the Church was from Barrington street, along the northern line of the property. This would correspond with the south wall of St. Mary's boys' school. At the south-east end of the church there was a small vestry; and south of that a cottage for the priest was built in 1785-86. The plot of ground between the house and Barrington street, now occupied by the convent of the Sisters of Charity, and land attached thereto, was a garden in which potatoes and other vegetables were grown for many years. In an old book of accounts we find payments made for "digging potatoes in the priest's garden" as late as 1805.

We can only faintly imagine the joy that filled the hearts of the few faithful Catholics of Halifax, and those scattered along the western shore as far as Prospect, as well as the various groups of Acadians, when their modest "House of God" arose, and they realized that the night of their spiritual desolation was passed, and the hateful shackles broken beyond possibility of repair. Their Church was small and bare, yet it was their own. They had secured ample space for future needs; they knew growth was a quality of

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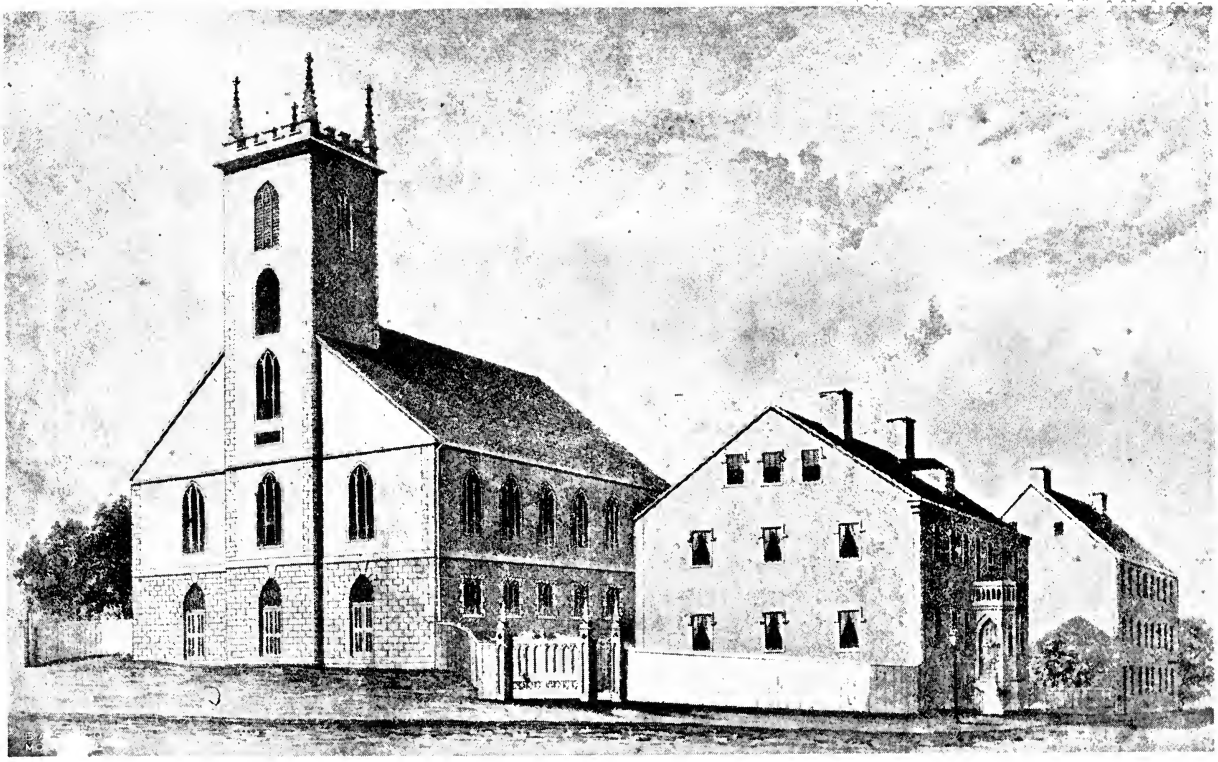


St. Mary's Cathedral, as projected by Bishop Burke.

St Mary's Glebe House, as built by Bishop Burke.

the Church. With their undying faith they may have had visions of the stately pile which should one day take the place of "Old St. Peters." for the prince of the Apostles was the Patron of the first Church. Application for a pastor was made to the Bishop of Cork, and in 1785 the Reverend James Jones, of the Order of Capuchins, came to assume charge of the Catholics of Halifax. Father Bourg, who was Vicar-General for Nova Scotia, saw his credentials and gave him faculties. September 4th, 1785, he wrote to the Bishop of Quebec announcing his arrival and forwarding a letter from the Bishop of Cork. This prelate offered to supply missionaries until such time as the youth of the country could be educated for the work. Bishop d'Esglis in his reply "blesses the mercy and providence of God towards the good Catholics of Halifax in giving them a priest according to their desires." He asks Father Jones to say for him "a thousand kind things to your people of Halifax; you cannot be guilty of excess in the expression of the sentiments of tenderness and attachment which I cherish for this remarkable portion of my flock. Their devotion to the Faith caused them to obtain from Parliament that which many others would not dare to ask; nor did the expenses of succeeding in this great project, nor those of building a Church, and if procuring missionaries daunt them."

The good Bishop did not undervalue what the exiles had accomplished for the liberty of all Catholics.

Father Jones found his mission sadly in need of many necessaries for the decencies of Divine Service; he also recognized that the fields were whitening for the harvest, but the reapers, alas! were not at hand. The Rev. William Phelan came to Nova Scotia in 1786, or early in 1787, and had his headquarters at Arichat, visiting from time to time St. Mary's Bay, Cap Sable, other parts of Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, Prince Edward Island and the Magdalen Islands. During the year 1787, Father Jones wrote several letters to the Bishop, pointing out the spiritual needs of his mission, and urging the placing of priests at Shelburne, Digby, River St. John, Antigonish, Windsor or other points, whence he could visit occasionally the various harbors, unless this were done he feared that "except a few Acadians and the Indians there would be no Catholics in these

Provinces in twenty years." The number of Protestant families with Irish Catholic names scattered throughout Nova Scotia, show his fears to have had some foundation, and are a mournful reminder of our losses. Well might he add: "my heart bleeds when I reflect on what can be done, and that none step forward."

A long letter dated Quebec, October 22nd, 1787, written by the Coadjutor Bishop, acknowledges the receipt of Father Jones letters, and regrets that absence and pressing business prevented an earlier reply. A document was enclosed constituting Father Jones Superior of the missions of Nova Scotia, under which title Cape Breton, P. E. Island, the Magdalen Islands, and part of New Brunswick were included, and giving him all necessary faculties and powers for the office. The letter contains many directions for his guidance, and referring to the want of missionaries says :—"From what you have written it is readily understood that evangelical labourers are required in various missions of Nova Scotia, in which there have not been any up to the present. But in truth the Diocese of Quebec is not in a position to supply them herself. Canadian ecclesiatics barely suffice to fill the vacant places in the centre of the Diocese. There is, therefore, no resource for Nova Scotia, except in the zeal of Irish or English priests, who may wish to come and work under your orders. We leave it entirely to your prudence to place the missionaries according to their talents and the needs of the people, and to assign the limits of their jurisdiction as may seem well to you, both as regards place and time."

There is no ambiguity about these words; but lest it might be supposed provision would be made at least for the Acadians, it was added further on: "the Acadians living in Nova Scotia must become accustomed to English missionaries, since others can no longer be provided. Their fastidiousness on this score will be removed, the more so that the greater number understand and speak English fairly well."*

*This is the original ; "Les Acadiens etablis dans la Nouvelle Ecosse doivent s'accoutumer aux Miseres Anglois puisqu'on ne peut plus leur en procurer d'autres. Leur delicatesse sur ce point seroit deplacee d'autant que le plupart entendent et parlent passablement l'Anglois.

From 1604 to 1755 the missionaries who had laboured in Acadia had come almost exclusively from France. At the expulsion Abbé Maillard had been detained by the Halifax Government to quiet the Indians. Later on, as the Acadians gradually returned, the Government wishing to keep to the treaty of Utrecht, as well as to conciliate the Indians, asked the Bishop of Quebec for a priest to succeed the Abbé Maillard, who died in 1762 not 1768. It was by reason of this request, as the Bishop of Quebec himself states in a letter to Father Bailly,* that this latter missionary was sent to Nova Scotia. The Government gave him one hundred pounds a year, and continued that stipend to Rev. Mr. Bourg, his successor. The Acadians had to thank the political exigencies of the Government for the ministrations of Maillard, Bailly and Bourg; henceforth, they were told with no uncertain sound by Quebec, that they would have to rely on the "zeal of the Irish and English priests" whom Father Jones might succeed in obtaining, and to whom they must accustom themselves, as they could hope for no aid from their kinsmen in Canada. Well it was for the Acadians that the Irish clergy, whatever may have been their shortcomings, had zeal for the faith; and doubly well was it for them that Father Jones was too broad-minded, and too considerate of their national aspirations, to attempt to act up to the spirit of these instructions. He sought on all sides, as his letters to the Bishop of Quebec show, for French priests. He kept alive the hopes and aspirations of the Acadians by promising to procure, as soon as possible, priests of their own nationality. In the meantime he visited, and caused them to be regularly visited by Irish priests, who spoke their language, although not able to preach very well in it.

In 1787, Rev. Mr. Power came to Nova Scotia. He visited St. Mary's Bay, Cap Sable, the coast of Halifax County, Tracadie, Magdalen Islands, Pictou and P. E. Island. For several years he laboured, in what we may call a roving fashion, in these various places. The consolations of religion were brought from time to time to Catholics scattered over this and the adjoining countries.

*See letter in Abbe Casgrain's work already cited.

The pioneers had to prepare the way, later on the builders would appear.

In 1789, Father Grace, a Capuchin, arrived in Halifax. He was amongst the Acadians in the west during the winter of 1790, and the following summer. He went there on other occasions later on, remaining for several consecutive months. He also visited Chezzetcook and Prospect.

In 1789 Father Jones received a petition from Prince Edward Island for a resident priest. In informing the Vicar-General of Quebec of this application he suggests that a Mr. McDonald or McDonell, who was then in Montreal should be sent. He had the consolation of writing on 5th October, 1790, that 250 Scotch Catholics with a priest named McEachan had arrived on Prince Edward Island. In that letter he says there were before these arrivals, 50 families of Scotch Catholics in the island, 28 at Merrigonish, 20 at Miramichi, 8 at Pictou ; 66 Acadian families on P. E. I., 26 at Cheticamp, and 30 at Trecadie ; he thought these would keep Fathers Power and McEachan sufficiently employed. He would ask the latter to go to Pictou the next summer, as he could preach in Gaelic, to counteract the work of some Calvanist Ministers who were preaching there in that tongue. Evidently he was not sleeping at his post,nor did petty questions of nationality occupy his thoughts. He rejoiced at the advent of Father McEachen for the sake of the Scotch ; just as he tells his superiors (24 October, 1791,) that "nothing would give me greater pleasure than to see a Canadian in charge of Arichat, and St. Mary's Bay." He still hoped for help from that quarter for the Acadians ; but his hope was never realized.

In November of 1790, the Rev. Lawrence Whelan came to Halifax, and remained about two years. Father Jones gave him charge of the city, and went to visit various parts of his extensive district. In 1791 Rev. James McDonald arrived in Pictou with several Scottish families.

In April, 1792, he was at Arichat, and deemed it well to dispense with the services of Rev. Wm. Phelan. Two years later this clergyman went to the United States, and died somewhere in Pennsyl-

vania in 1795. Whilst at Arichat Father Jones issued an address to the Catholics of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton and P. E. I., and gives a list of the missionaries approved for these parts. They were Messrs. Bourg, LeRoux, Power, Grace, McEachen, Lawrence Whelan and himself. The two former were in New Brunswick, Father McEachan in P. E. I., the other four in Nova Scotia.

During the summer of this year Father Jones was enabled to secure the services of two excellent French Priests. Providence was coming to aid his zeal for the Acadians. The work of these Missionaries is justly remembered and praised; the action of him to whom, under God, the people are indebted for these men would seem to merit recognition.

Father Lejamtel of the Diocese of Coutances, France, had been for five or six years laboring at St. Pierre, Miquelon. In 1792 the spirit of the French Revolution had reached that rocky shore. Father Lejamtel and a Father Allain were requested to take a schismatical oath. To escape the consequences of refusal they fled the country, and reached the Magdalen Islands. Father Allain, fatigued with the journey, remained there, whilst Father Lejamtel made his way to Halifax. He arrived just as Father Jones was about to set out the second time for Arichat to settle difficulties growing out of the dismissal of Mr. Phelan. Finding his testimonials in order, Father Jones decided to take Mr. Lejamtal with him to Arichat, and there left him in charge. He accepted also the services of Father Allain, and gave him the Magdalen Islands as his principal mission. Having provided French Missionaries for these two important places, he next sought in Philadelphia for a French priest to be placed at St. Mary's Bay. He was unsuccessful, however, in his quest.

In 1793, a belfry was built to the Church at Halifax, and the following summer a spire was added. A bell was also purchased. It would appear that it had belonged to the Church at St. Pierre, Miquelon, and had been carried to Halifax as a prize of war. In 1794, a Church was built at Prospect, largely owing no doubt, to the efforts of Father Jones who had passed several weeks with the settlers along the shore some time previously. He wrote this same

year to the Bishop of St. Pol de Lyon, then the official head in England of the French priests who had fled thither from France, asking for three French priests; they were promised him, but owing to the difficulties of the times they did not come.

Early in 1794, Father LeRoux who had been stationed at Memramcook for many years, attending also Minudie, Petticodiac, Shediac, &c., departed this life. Owing to the facilities afforded by inland waters, the difficulty of attending this mission was less than that to be encountered by the priests who ministered along the rough ocean coast of Nova Scotia, or threaded the almost pathless wilds between Cap Sable and St. Mary's Bay. But these latter, unlike Father LeRoux, have not left any letters telling of their hardships and privations. Possibly like the Celtic missionaries of old, they looked on these hardships as a necessary concomitant of their Evangelical mission.

Father Jones duly notified the Bishop of Father LeRoux's death; no priest coming to replace him, a delegation of the people came to Halifax. They came a second time, and carried back Father Power who was in the city after having spent some time at Prospect. For nine years he remained with his friendly captors. The Acadians who had written to Father Jones complaining that Father LeRoux, in his last year, was unable to attend them, never once complained of Father Power. If, however, as Abbé Casgrain says, they were "very irregularly attended by priests, who only knew imperfectly their language and their dispositions" during these years, with whom did the fault lie? Quebec might have sent a French speaking clergyman; but Father Jones could not create one. Whether or not the spiritual ministrations given the Acadians were all that could be desired may be open to question; but for them, such as they were, the people know to whom they were indebted.

For years Father Jones had been endeavouring to procure a suitable missionary for St. Mary's Bay. The Acadians of the Western Counties had full confidence in him, as well they might. He did his best to provide for their spiritual needs, both by visiting them himself, and by sending from time to time priests who could speak

their language. In September, 1790, they addressed a letter to him, expressing their gratitude and satisfaction, and begging him to endeavor to provide for them a resident priest. We have seen what steps he took on various occasions. He wrote, amongst others, to Dr. Matigny in Boston, and when in Philadelphia in 1795, interviewed some refugee French priests. In 1796, he induced the Governor of Nova Scotia, to whom the people of St. Mary's Bay had sent a memorial, to write to London for one. Things moved more slowly in those days than now, but people had more patience. At length in the spring of 1799, Father Jones had the joy and consolation of seeing realized his long deferred hopes; and the Acadians of Western Nova Scotia and their decendants had ample reason to thank the God they served, and to hold in grateful remembrance the first Irish Missionary in Nova Scotia. He had not sought to force them "to accustom themselves to English missionaries"; on the contrary, he encouraged them to hope for a French priest, and now at last the right man had come. This was the Abbé Sigogne, who for forty-five years laboured amongst them, leaving at death an undying name.

Writing on 2nd August, 1799, to the Coadjutor Bishop, Father Jones says:—"Mr. Sigogne is pleased at Cap Sable, he will be more so with St. Mary's Bay. He is a good man, not strong in body, and about 37 years of age; he will give every account of his business." Both at Cap Sable and St. Mary's Bay there had long been a church and small presbytery.

In August, 1799, the Abbé de Calonne and Rev. Mr. Pilchart or Pilchard, arrived at Halifax, on their way to P. E. Island. A Rev. Mr. Burke had also come to Halifax from Newfoundland.

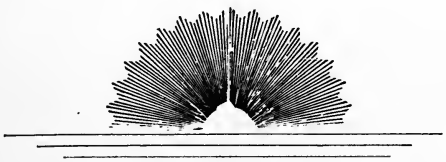
In the year 1800, Father Jones resolved to carry out a project which he had in view for some years, viz., to revisit Ireland. The time seemed propitious. He had been fifteen years in Halifax, and for thirteen of them Superior of the Missions. When he came, in 1785, there were only Father Bourg in Nova Scotia, and Father Le-Roux in New Brunswick, both now dead. In 1787, he had been told that henceforth Nova Scotia must depend on "the zeal of the Irish and English priests who may wish to come and serve

under your orders." Under God, then, to him is due the credit for the work of those years. What account can he now give of his stewardship? Fathers McEachan and Pilchart and the Abbé Calonne in P. E. Island; Father Power at Memramcook, Lejamtel at Arichat; Allain at the Magdalen Islands: MacDonald (now an invalid) at Pictou; Sigogne at St. Mary's Bay; Grace at Prospect, and Burke (not the Bishop) at Halifax. Ten besides himself. The mustard seed had taken root.

As Father Jones was the first Irish priest in Halifax, or, in fact, in Nova Scotia, and as he remained for fifteen years in this city, we have deemed it well to show from his own letters, and from the public testimony of his ecclesiastical superiors, what manner of man he was in the days of his physical vigour. Owing, however, to the unorganized state of Catholic affairs in Nova Scotia, as well as the distance from, and difficulty of communication with Quebec, and above all, perhaps, owing to the fact that no Bishop of Quebec had visited Halifax, dissensions arose in the closing years of Father Jones' ministry. Bereft of episcopal guidance the church wardens and priest could not settle their difficulties. A few turbulent persons can easily engender confusion, and arouse a spirit of dissatisfaction: when the strong hand of authority is not nigh to hold in check the discordant elements, and to firmly grasp the helm, the danger of shipwreck is very imminent. Religion cannot flourish in regions unmarked by episcopal footprints, and unblessed by episcopal ministrations. How much of the awful decadence of our faith in countries once noted for their Catholic spirit, is due to the aloofness of Bishops from their people, only the last day will reveal.

On the 8th August, of 1800, Father Jones left for Ireland, and apparently was undecided whether or not he should return. A Rev. Edmund Burke, a Dominican Friar, who though bearing the same name, must not be confounded with the Father Burke of whom we have been treating, assumed charge of the congregation of Halifax, and ministered to it until the September of 1801. From a letter of his, written to the Bishop of Quebec, and dated at Halifax, 15th May, 1801, we glean that after the departure of Father

Jones, a meeting was held at which a certain gentleman made some ridiculous proposals regarding their future action towards their pastor. He wished to have him engaged quarterly, to be removable at pleasure, etc. The congregation, however, "warmly opposed" and "rejected" them. A set of "regulations" was at length adopted by the meeting, a copy of which was sent to the Bishop. We may here say that Bishop Denaut, with commendable prudence and firmness, approved some, modified others, rejected such as would tend to weaken the legitimate influence of the priest, or to lower his status, and suspended judgment on several until his pastoral visit, which he hoped to make soon, when he could see for himself the circumstances of the congregation, and its needs. To carry out his views, to restore peace and harmony, to forward the work of God in Nova Scotia, and to bring to Halifax blessings of which he wot not, but which were in the Council's of the Almighty, he appointed Father Burke, whose zeal and labours in the missions of Detroit and Upper Canada had been so fruitful of blessings, to the spiritual charge of Halifax, constituting him his Vicar General, and Superior of the Missions of Nova Scotia. Then, indeed, began the dawn of a glorious day, not only for the persecuted Irish and Scotch of Nova Scotia, but also for the faithful Acadians, who would receive more loving care and attention than they had ever experienced in their eventful past.



CHAPTER XII.

THE DAWN.

THE history of nations, and much less the history of the Church, is not made up of haphazard events unconnected between themselves, and conspiring to no particular end. The designs of Providence are worked out in the course of ages; the looms may weave slowly; a great variety of colours may be found in the warp and woof, but in due season a harmonious and finished part of the great whole will greet the eyes of the thoughtful student of history. In a variety of ways, during many years, Father Burke was being prepared and fitted for his work in Halifax. The penal laws which had sent him to Paris to be educated, the dissensions in his native diocese which had induced him to leave it, and the action of Rev. Mr. Hussey, agent of the Quebec seminary in London, that had sent him to Canada,* may appear to have no connection each with the other, and yet in the designs of Providence they all conspired to a foreseen and intended end. The intimate contact, whilst at Quebec, with Government officials, and the knowledge thus acquired was no slight benefit to Father Burke; of service, too, were the studious and regular habits of the seminary. The active life in the missions of Upper Canada familiarized him with the state of a new country, and enabled him to understand its requirements. It served also to develop his self-reliance and decision of character, and to teach him the methods of proceedure best adapted to surroundings that differed widely, not only from those existing in Ireland, but even from those at Quebec. In this varied experience all things co-operated unto good. His intellectual faculties had been ripened by assiduous study and teaching; habits of order and regularity strengthened; his social qualities brought into play; a knowledge of public men, and of

*Mand. Queb., Vol. II.

the views of government acquired; and the wants and needs of the missionary field had been learned, not theoretically, but practically. He was now ready for the important work for which his manifold training had been but a preparation. The See of Halifax was singularly fortunate in the founder of its traditions.

In September of 1801, Father Burke left Quebec for Halifax; we shall allow him to tell the tale of his coming. In a letter of 10th October, to the Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec, he writes :— "after a prosperous voyage of twelve days we arrived here the 2nd inst., (the feast of the Holy Angels), and I said mass in honour of my good angel who had conducted us hither without any accident. I admired, in passing, Chedabucto Bay, opposite Arichat, and also the Straits of Canso, where we were becalmed for a time ; Little Canso, which as you come out of the Bay, is not more than sixty yards wide, is the most romantic spot I have yet seen * * I see no difficulty in restoring order here amongst the good Irish people. They never had any idea of disregarding their duty, or of disobedience to their Bishop. As soon as your letter announcing that his Lordship had appointed a missionary arrived, they began to prepare the presbytery for his reception. They have almost completely furnished it in English style, so that your Lordship can be entertained like a Bishop at Court. You are expected here ; I have began already to prepare the children for confirmation.

Our church is small for the congregation, but it is pretty. Instead of a sanctuary choir we have in an organ loft at the end, a number of poor singers who bellow forth a species of figured music in a way to break the tympanum of one's ears. It will take time to substitute for this the music of the church. * * * In a short time one priest will not be sufficient for this mission, hence I shall begin to provide for this in time." We can see how the learned student unconsciously reveals himself in the following words : "My good friend Gravé would not loan me the Hebrew bible of which he makes no use. I have arranged with a merchant from Cork, who will pass by Quebec, to procure one for me."

On the day of his arrival in Halifax he began a Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Interments for the Church of St. Peter's, in

the city of Halifax." The first entry is the baptism on 3rd October, 1801, of Anne, daughter of Edward Ford and Mary Lynch.

In a second letter to the Bishop, 16th January, 1802, he says:—"as yet I have not met with the least obstacle from any one. The order and discipline of the diocese are established with the consent of all. * * The members of the former committee, against whom there were some unfounded prejudices, have resigned. * * Little by little the frequenting of the Sacraments is growing. Do not imagine, my Lord, that any great effort was required to restore order; not at all, the people are docile. It is true that in the beginning they complained bitterly. I was deaf to this, and had only one answer for all, viz., "that the Bishop had not sent me here to listen to complaints, nor to obtain information regarding the conduct of any one, but to cause the laws and discipline of the Church to be observed in his diocese. This is a summary of what has happened in Halifax since my arrival."

The tact and prudence of Father Burke are unconsciously portrayed in this letter, and we can learn from a subsequent one the fruit produced. On 26th April, 1802, he can write:—"Lent has been observed according to the rules of the Church without a dispensation, and all have fulfilled their Easter duties, *Deo gratias*." To show how quickly dissensions were healed, difficulties overcome, and perfect harmony restored under the wise and zealous ministry of Father Burke, we may here quote two "official" letters, copies of which are found in the warden's book. The first is from the committee appointed after the arrival of Father Burke, and is dated 18th January, 1802. It is addressed to his Lordship, Bishop Denaut of Quebec, and is as follows:—

My Lord,—In obedience to the instructions conveyed in your lordship's pastoral letter of the 8th of September, 1801, and the remarks annexed to an abridgement of certain regulations intended to direct the conduct of our late worthy committee and their successors, at a primary meeting of the Catholic inhabitants of this town, twenty-nine electors were chosen, who, in conjunction with the members of the former committee, proceeded to elect by ballot a warden with three assistants, to succeed in rotation, the gentlemen

of the former committee having declined. We had the honour of being chosen to fill that important office, though there be many in the community better qualified.

We think it our duty to inform your lordship that the whole of this arduous business has been conducted without a contradiction, and to the entire satisfaction of all parties. To your lordship's paternal vigilance and effectual attention to our wants as soon as made known, we stand indebted for that harmony which now subsists. Dissensions did exist, the natural effect of that want of order and discipline which prevailed. That was the true source of our divisions, and of confusion amongst us, not any intention to disclaim the obedience we owe our pastors, confusion which was of a long continuance, and had gradually increased to such an alarming pitch as to threaten the dissolution of our congregation. It does not become us to complain, whatever causes might have existed, yet we have to lament that till the arrival of the present Rev. Mr. Burke, (to whose salutary measures and indefatigable exertions we feel sensibly indebted), we have had no pastors of your lordship's immediate choice, and we have to hope and humbly request as representatives of this congregation, that in future, your lordship, and his successors, will direct men chosen in his or their wisdom, and none others to conduct this parish. We have also to request that your lordship will graciously please to honor us with his presence this ensuing summer. If want of health or other weighty reasons deprive us of that pleasure, may we hope that your lordship will direct his Coadjutor to honor us with a visit.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

(Signed), P. RYAN,
M. BENNETT,
EDMUND BUTLER,
JAMES TOBIN.

This letter is endorsed by the members of the old committee who also, write as follows :—

My Lord,—Your Lordship's favor of 8th of September last, came to hand late in the month of October. We received that additional mark of your paternal attention with becoming gratitude,

and we have paid that implicit obedience to your Lordship's instructions in their fullest extent, which as dutiful children of the Catholic Chnrch, we owe to our first pastor. With pleasure we inform your Lordship, that through the mercy of God all dissensions are done away, peace and harmony are restored. We have now to hope and request a continuance of your fatherly care, and we shall consider as a signal mark of condescension the visit which your Lordship has given us some reason to expect in the course of next summer.

We have the honor to be, etc.,

(Signed), MICH. TOBIN,
C. CONNOR,
JOHN MAGUIRE,
PETER LYNCH,
PAT. O'BRIEN.

Thus owing to the faith and true Catholic instincts of the people, the admirable qualities of Father Burke, and the discretion of Bishop Denaut in his gentle though firm dealing with the "Rules" crudely drawn up by some of the congregation in the August of 1800, all difficulties happily ended. The Church of Halifax grew and waxed strong in peace and unity.

Intent on promoting the beauty of God's house, and in providing, not the bare necessaries alone, but also many adornments for the Altar and Sanctuary, Father Burke writes to Quebec for these articles, and soon has an abundant supply. He asks also for a Roman Missal, saying the one in use was that of the Recollet Fathers. * A valuable relic of the early missions in Nova Scotia, and a link of connection between them and the Church of Halifax. We learn, too, of some church goods that came from the Spanish possessions. In a letter of 23rd July, 1802, he writes: "I am sending you some vestments made, and half made, such as they have been given to us. Some privateers from here stole them from the poor Spaniards, and not knowing what to do with them, made

* On reading this, search was made, and a Recollet Missal, long disused, was found in one of our churches. It is now in the Diocesan Library. The Canon of the Mass is beautifully printed on parchment in the Richelieu type. Several full page woodcuts, well executed, adorn the work.

a present of them to us. The title is good, for the war was still raging when those rascals landed in Spanish territory. You see My Lord, how the misfortune of some becomes the good fortune of others!"

Attention was likewise given to perfecting the Choir in the music of the Church. We have the names of the various members of the Choir during a period of twenty-two years, with the minutes of their numerous meetings. There were active and honorary members, the former were admitted free, the latter paid five shillings. But they had to run the gauntlet of the ballot, and three black beans sufficed to blight the budding aspiration of the seeker after the honours of the organ loft. They had a President, Secretary and two Stewards. It is doubtful if our modern choirs have those latter officials, but they played an important part, for we are informed their duty was "to provide refreshments for the Society at each meeting, agreeably to the directions they will receive from time to time from the President on behalf of the Society, to whom they will render an account of the expenses." The duty of members was "to attend when summoned, or give some satisfactory excuse for their non-attendance." An admirable rule, indeed, and worthy of imitation by societies other than those of singing. The members were also "bound" to use their influence to increase the membership, and to promote the interests of the Society. The meetings were weekly at first, afterwards quarterly, and each active member had to pay sevenpence halfpenny each meeting; honorary members two shillings and sixpence a quarter, besides sevenpence halfpenny on the nights of meeting. A member might bring a guest by paying a like amount. In those early days they fully grasped the idea that it was a privilege to be allowed to sing at Mass; they had not the remotest thought that they were conferring a favour. Occasionally we find the names of visitors who attended, for instance:—Mr. James Foreman and Lieut. Shoedde, 60th Reg.; Mr. Wm. Bowie, Mr. John Neull, St. Paul's Singing Society; Mr. Wiswell, Union Singing Society; Capt. Ruell of Quebec, &c. A Mr. Fisher was teacher of the Choir, and was paid six pounds per quarter. In 1810, the initiation fee was raised to one pound, and

delinquents were ordered to pay up promptly; otherwise dismissal with no hope of ever being taken back, was to be their lot.

On 4th October. 1808, the Choir resolved to purchase an organ, and appointed a committee of three to make enquiries and report. A Dr. Sullivan had left by will one hundred pounds for this purpose. The Choir generously resolved to provide the balance themselves, and to make a present of the organ to the Church. In the summer of 1810, it was safely landed in Halifax, having been bought in London from James Barlow. Mr. Quirk was engaged for two years by the Choir as organist, at a salary of eleven shillings and eight pence ($2.30) for "each and every Sunday and holiday on which he shall perform." On 21st May, 1811, the President reported, to the satisfaction of all concerned, that the total cost of the organ, amounting to £567.16.3 had been paid. There is a moral somewhere in all this for Choirs of today.

The sexton was Daniel Moore, who was paid two pounds per quarter from the Church; but as he combined the duties of caretaker of the cemetery with those attaching to the office of sexton, his quarterly allowance was considerably increased.

The accounts show that in 1802, a cord of wood cost twenty-five shillings; hauling the same, three; chopping and housing, seven; or in all about seven dollars. Laborers were paid eighty cents a day. In 1816, coal sold at twelve dollars a chaldron.

One realizes the change and improvements wrought in Halifax since 1804, when one finds that five quarts of seal oil for the street "*lantern*" at the old Glebe House corner, costing five shillings, were bought from time to time by the congregation.

It was customary, too, to send special messengers to Quebec, Philadelphia or England, to carry letters or make purchases. From these the modern "drummer" has doubtless been evolved. But how changed is the environment. Now palace cars, or floating drawing rooms, with every luxury waiting on his beck and nod; formerly the foul smelling, slowly moving, spaced-cramped schooner, his only means of locomotion, whilst salt pork and biscuits constituted his staple diet. Each traveler paid a certain amount for his passage and then provided his own rations. As a sample of a forgotten

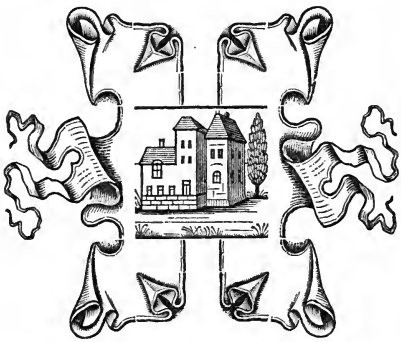
mode of travelling, and also of prices then current, an extract from the accounts of 1803, may not be devoid of interest.

1803.		£	s.	d.
Sept. 23	To sundries delivered to Mr. Shinick for his passage			
	Cash for his passage	4	10	0
	42 lbs. fine biscuits		13	1½
	1 lb. Souchong Tea		7	6
	4 lbs. Sugar		5	4
	6 lbs Butter 7.6, 13 lbs. Pork 8.1½.		15	1½
	1½ gal. best Brandy		18	0
	2 doz. Cabbages		4	0
	1 bus. Potatoes		2	6
	15 lbs. Beef		8	9
	2 Flour Barrels to pack		2	0
	1 Plate, 3 d. 2 bottles Madeira 5 s.		5	3
		8	12	1

Mr. Shinick was not, apparently, a teetotaler, yet the delicate manner in which the brandy is sandwiched between the pork and cabbages, should appear to suggest it was only an aid to digestion, not a gratification of the palate that was intended.

In 1803, Nova Scotia was visited for the first time by a Bishop of Quebec. One hundred and ninety-nine years had elapsed since the torch of faith had been lighted on these shores; for one hundred and twenty-five years there had been a succession of Bishops at Quebec claiming jurisdiction over the Church in this country, but neither in time of peace, nor time of war did they bless with their presence and Episcopal ministrations the faithful Acadians. In June, 1803, Bishop Denaut was in Halifax and wrote in the warden's book rules for their guidance. He was presented with "two tumblers, gilt inside and plated outside" as the item reads, and the cost was one pound fifteen shillings. The Bishop found everything most satisfactory. He ordered that the versicle "*Domine salvum fac Regem*" (O Lord preserve our king) should be sung after mass and at benediction. From a letter of

Father Burke's to the Coadjutor, we learn that his Lordship's visit was productive of much good, and that he was kindly received by the dignitaries of the town,



CHAPTER XIII.

LABOURS IN THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION.

NO race developed so early in its history the intellectual faculty, or brought it to greater perfection, than did the all pervading Celt. Closely allied with, perhaps even the progenators of the Phoenicians, the Celtic stock was the founder of European literature, and for ages its zealous promoter and ardent diffuser. That branch of the race which settled in Ireland, being removed from proximity to the scenes of war and rapine that obtained on the continent, early gave itself to the assiduous study of the peaceful arts and sciences. The ancient literature of Ireland was of a high order of merit; so, too, were its works of sculpture and architecture, and other humanizing arts. The Irish Celt had never been a barbarian; the primeval heritage of Eden's civilization and wisdom was brought by him down the ages, and carried with him in his migrations westward. Settled in the security of Erin, beyond the orbit of internecine racial struggles, and even beyond the reach of Rome's conquering arm, the intellectual Celt rapidly developed and expanded his store of more than Egyptian knowledge. The christian religion so joyfully received by the Irish, gave a fresh impetus, as well as an enlarged scope, to art and science. We need not repeat here the story of Ireland's famous schools, nor how the nations flocked thither to slake their intellectual thirst at her fountains of knowledge, nor how her sons bore the torch of learning through the dark places of Europe and the Isles of the north. Westward still was the instinctive trend of the Celt, and late in the fifth, or early in the sixth century, Saint Brendan crossed the Atlantic and blessed our continent with the sacred rites of christianity. Slowly, but surely, the voyage of Saint Brendan is passing from the region of the mythical to the category of historical facts.

Forty centuries or more of intellectual culture indelibly impressed its signet on the race, and transmitted inherited tendencies of such accumulative force, that oppression, persecution, and slavery could not degrade the Irish, nor modify in their descendants the characteristics of their ancestors. So far as power ruthlessly employed could affect it, the acquisition of knowledge by the Irish was for three hundred years made impossible. Yet they acquired it. It was made a crime to teach; yet they taught. They dared not print books; yet they wrote them. Before me lies a touching memento of those sad days. It is a large manuscript volume of nearly eleven hundred closely written pages, entitled "A brief collection of the most useful and remarkable passages of church history * * * for the ease and help of weak memories of such as are desirous to know; in brief, the affairs of the church from Christ our Saviour's death and ascension to the beginning of the 17th century." It is preceded by several pages called "A general view of the terraqueous globe." It was written in 1726 by C., P. P. of Athboy; that is all the information vouchsafed us regarding the industrious writer. Evidently he was parish priest of Athboy; probably he was living in some mountain cave, or in the seclusion of some boggy glen, and doubtless there was a price on his head. By stealth he would minister to the spiritual wants of his faithful flock during the night, hieing back to his retreat ere the glorious dawn afforded a guiding ray to the watchful priest-hunter. After a short repose on his bed of heather, and a meal of roasted potatoes, garnished on great occasions by a rasher of bacon, the hunted scholar would take up his work of love, and translate and condense from the Latin original of Cabassutins, this "Brief history of the church." What a striking proof of devotion to learning is this rare old manuscript, written under such difficult conditions. How nobly it sustains the best traditions of the Irish priesthood, and demonstrates the invincible tendency of the race to intellectual pursuits.

With the relaxation of the penal laws towards the end of the last century began the new spring of Irish literature. Father Burke had all the ardour of his fellow countrymen for the acquisition and

spread of knowledge. He had been only a few months in Halifax when he conceived the idea of establishing a college. The Catholics of Halifax at that early day were fairly well educated. We find in the register of marriages, that the bride and groom, as well as the witnesses, signed their names in a good hand; the same is true of parents and sponsors as seen in the baptismal register. This is a very honourable and noteworthy fact.

In Father Burke's second letter to the Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec, 16th January, 1802, he writes: "here is something we are working at quietly: there is a great desire to establish a Catholic school. The need is a pressing one. * * * There are sufficient means to guarantee success if we could succeed in having repealed an infamous law which forbids Catholic schools. We have reason to hope that we can effect this."

With Father Burke, to decide, was to act. Hence in July of the same year, he writes: "our college is being built quite expeditiously. It is a house of two stories, with kitchen and dining room in the basement, as well as cellar and storeroom. It is sixty feet by forty inside the walls." This building was known later on as the Glebe House, and stood for eighty-nine years on the corner of Barrington street and Spring Garden road.

The opening of a high school or college was a work dear to the heart of Father Burke. In various letters he refers to the progress of the building, rejoicing as a room is finished, and eagerly anticipating its entire completion. The material part of the work he could and did speedily complete, for that fell within the scope of his own personal energy. But to provide teachers was another and very different task. His many letters show that no man could well make greater, or more persevering efforts in that direction, and yet for long weary years he was doomed to see hope after hope blighted, just as it gave promise of a speedy realization.

The authorities of Quebec, and nationalities other than the Irish and Scotch, would not willingly run the risk of displeasing the Government. The penal laws had never existed in Quebec. By treaty the rights of Catholics had been guaranteed, and outwardly, at least, peace between Church and State obtained. The Ecclesiastical

authorities of Quebec, fearful lest the Government should change its policy of tolerance towards them, if thwarted elsewhere, were over-cautious or possibly over-timid in their actions in the Maritime Provinces. They would not send priests to Acadia like the missionaries were sent to China, viz: without seeking or caring for the permission of the Government. Hence as the Government wanted one in Nova Scotia to calm the Indians and to minister to the few returned exiles, they sent one only. So far back as 1771, Father Bailly pointed out how a missionary might go quietly to Cap Sable, and do much good amongst the scattered Acadian families, but none went. Later on Father Jones showed the necessity of sending a priest to St. Mary's Bay, and another to Windsor; yet none were sent. The Abbé Sigogne, and two other priests from France, were not procured through any action on the part of the Bishops of Quebec. The arrival on these shores of Irish and Scotch priests quickly opened the way to others.

Father Burke in a letter to Bishop Plessis, July 12th, 1802, has some remarks that bear on this point. He hoped to procure a certain Father Ricchi, an Italian, for his college. He proposes that he should come as his assistant, and quietly take up the work of teaching, and adds, "the government will not have anything to say to him, nor he to the government; we Irish do not expect anything from the government; we have no position, and nothing to rely on except our arms, which, thank God, are pretty strong."

From a subsequent letter we learn Father Ricchi wished to get permission from the government, on which Father Burke caustically remarks, "there is no use in asking help from the devil to combat iniquity."

A Mrs. Blake gave a valuable property towards the college fund, and temporal means amply sufficient were soon assured. Father Burke wrote to the Archbishop of Dublin, and other Prelates in Ireland for teachers, but in vain. There was a scarcity of priests in Dublin, and the distracted state of Europe for many subsequent years operated against him. Incidently we learn what manner of man he sought. He says, "I do not seek a man without a fault,

such a one is not to be found. I want a man of talent with a good foundation of religion."

The difficulty of obtaining teachers was not the only obstacle between Father Burke and the noble goal of his endeavours. Then, as now, there were narrow minds that would fain force their neighbours to drink at such streams of knowledge as they should provide, or to remain forever athirst. On 21st September, 1803, he writes, "to add to my trouble Bishop Inglis, aided by his clergy and some other anti-Catholics, have succeeded by force of intrigue in inducing the Lieutenant-Governor to refuse me a license to open our school, although the law of the Province permits it. This afflicts us sorely. This brave Bishop full of zeal has caused an inquisition to be made to find out if there are any Catholic teachers in the Province, in order to prosecute them according to the penal laws. * * He has excluded the Presbyterians from the new university unless they subscribe to the thirty-nine articles. * * We Catholics are sending a petition to His Royal Highness the Duke of Kent * * eventually they will be forced to grant us what the law allows. In the meantime the righteous suffer."*

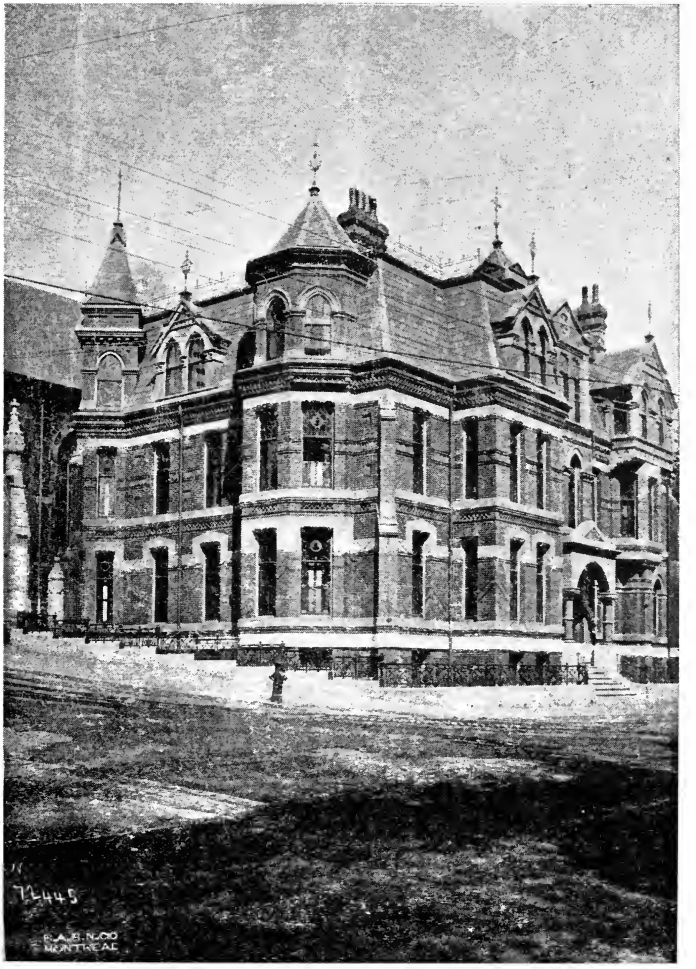
*In September, 1802, the Governor wrote Lord Hobart, Secretary of State, that the Catholics were increasing in number and activity, and pays the following involuntary tribute to Father Burke. We can see the force against which the brave priest had to contend.

"They are stimulated by the Rev. Mr. Burke, the priest at Halifax, who assumes the title of Vicar General of Nova Scotia. I had the honour to transmit and solicit your lordships instructions upon his memorial, praying leave to establish a Roman Catholic seminary in Halifax. The contributions expected having partly failed, and I believe, suspecting that a public literary institution for educating youth in this Province, wholly to be governed by a priesthood, residing in Canada, and not subject to the visitation or control of H. M. government, or of the established Church of England, could not be countenanced or permitted, he has in some degree changed the plan, and is erecting a large building for charitable education of youth of their own Church. This may require more consideration and caution than the former plan more openly designated. I have accordingly notified Mr. Burke, that no school or seminary of education could be exercised in this Province but such as were conformable to the laws of England and of this province, confirmed by his Majesty, and that without your lordship's approbation, I should not presume to issue any license for any such school. This notification was delivered officially to Mr. Burke, by Mr. Uniacke, H. M. Attorney General for this province, but Mr. Burke still persists in erecting the building."

Of course he "persisted;" that has been the fashion of his race in its long and successful struggle against injustice.

The activity and resources of Father Burke overcame this formidable obstacle, for he can write (12th June, 1805) "Lord Selkirk has addressed the Secretary of State regarding the opening of our school, and there will be no difficulty in obtaining passports for teachers, but unfortunately none can be found."

What a side light is cast on the social condition of Europe by the record of these fruitless attempts to procure a teacher or two. For years the sword had been unsheathed amongst the nations, and the pursuit of the peaceful arts and sciences impeded, or greatly harassed. France that had been the prolific mother of courageous missionaries, and Italy that had fostered in her bosom so many eminent men of science, could lend no aid. The Society of the Jesuits had been suppressed everywhere except in Russia. In 1805, they were labouring in England, although not outwardly constituting a society. Pius VII. had by "word of mouth" restored them wherever a Bishop wished to accept their services. Rev. Father Strickland was their Superior in England. Father Burke resolved to apply to him for subjects, but later on deemed it best to write to the General of the Order in St. Petersburg. In August, 1806, he received an answer from the General Father Brezogowski. In it the General says that the Society is ready to return to those regions where formerly they sweated and toiled, and even shed their blood; but as they exist canonically only in Russia and Sicily, although the Pope by word of mouth has permitted them to be everywhere, he suggests that the Bishop of Quebec should apply to the Pope for permission to have them labour in his diocese, as Bishop Carroll of Baltimore had already done. He would be prepared to send out two fathers the next spring to make a beginning. In fact, as we learn from a letter of Father Strickland's, two priests were named for the mission in Halifax, viz: "Fidelis Grivel a Frenchman, and Felix Syglinski, a Pole," but Father Strickland adds: "In the critical state in which the whole world is at present involved, it is hard to say, or foresee to-day, what will happen to-morrow. All therefore that the Superior-General or that I can promise is, that we will do our endeavors to give the assistance you desire." The assistance, however, never came. Whilst Pius VII. was personally most



St. Mary's Glebe House, Halifax, N S.

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favourable to the suppressed Society, and was resolved to restore it as he did later on, he thought in 1808, the time had not arrived for a formal and public pronouncement on the question. The Congregation of the Propaganda, according to both the Superior-General Father Brezogowski, and Father Strickland, in their letters to Father Burke, was not so favourable to the Society. Hence the application of Bishop Plessis to Rome , made at the suggestion of the Superior-General, did not meet with success. Father Strickland writing from London 31st July, 1808, says, he is not surprised at this. He relates how he, knowing the Pope's favourable disposition towards the Society, and reflecting on the fact that in the United Kingdom they never had the protection of government, felt they could be reestablished without its consent. This is how he set to work: "I got two memorials drawn up; one signed by myself and about a dozen of my brethren, petitioning leave to be aggregated to our brethren in Russia; the other signed by about thirty of the principal nobility and gentry of the three kingdoms to the same purpose, and sent them to Rome, where I procured them to be privately presented to His Holiness. On reading them His Holiness most readily consented to everything we asked of him, and lifting his hands and eyes to heaven, he gave thanks to God that the spirit of St. Ignatius still subsisted and declared it was the happiest day he had seen since he was Pope. Being pressed to give a public testimony of his approbation, he answered that it was not necessary, and that he could not do it in prudence, as he knew most certainly that such a deed would aggravate the persecution of the Church, and involve the Holy See in fresh difficulties, but that as soon as circumstances would permit it, he would not fail to confirm the Society in the amplest manner. This answer was communicated to the General of the Society the Rev. F. Gruber, and by him to us by the Pope's express orders. * * On this footing we now stand, viz: on the *vivae vocis oraculum* * * * Still stronger proofs of the Pope's approbation of all we have done might be given; but this I cannot give without betraying a confidential communication, which might expose the person of the Pope to new troubles."

We have only given the merest summary of Father Burke's long and earnest quest for teachers;* but it is amply sufficient to vindicate him from any charge of indifference to the educational requirements of his mission, or of blame for the long delay which had yet to intervene ere his hopes should be realized. We may add that he proposed to the Bishop of Quebec to affiliate his school either to the Seminary of Quebec, or that of Montreal, adding: "The funds are in my hands, and I can dispose of them as I will without consulting any one." But this project was never carried out.

To close this chapter, we may add that after the completion of the college building, Father Burke, seeing no immediate prospect of opening the school, rented the lower part to a Mr. Doyle. In a letter of 10th August, 1805, Father Burke relates that Mr. Doyle whilst excavating the basement found a "spring of running water capable of supplying half the town; we have put a pump in it." That same spring of deliciously cold water was used by the various inmates of the old Glebe House for the next eighty-five years. In the new Glebe House it holds its place of honour and usefulness.

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*The Jesuit Fathers in Baltimore named two of their number for Halifax, but the troubles of the period prevented their coming.

CHAPTER XIV.

WITH TONGUE AND PEN.

IN some natures strong literary tendencies, and studious habits are mated with physical vigour, and an activity of spirit which cannot be confined within the walls of a library. The individual so endowed may never attain to a commanding rank in literature, but. if he uses his talent aright, he will do more for the cause of God and truth than the greatest masters of literary style. The best balanced character, the character most desirable in a churchman, in this country and age, is that in which the habits and tastes of a student are cultivated, indeed, and encouraged, but never indulged in at the expense of the active duties of the sacred ministry. It is a question if this shutting oneself in a cabinet, and being unapproachable to all, is not simply a mixture of selfishness and an inane vanity to be considered peculiarly gifted above ones fellows. In any case it is certain, that whilst men of true genius are unaffected, and entirely free from peculiarities, the reverse is believed by very many, and idiosyncrases, whether natural or affected, are held to be the outward tokens by which genius is revealed to the common herd. Hence the seclusion, the unapproachableness, the wild eye, the unkempt locks, the moody spells, the shocking rudeness, the air of mystery, and other laughable, or boorish expedients adopted by some, who thereby have gained the name of poet, artist, thinker, or genius. The world dearly loves to be humbugged, and it is full often gratified.

The qualities of the zealous missionary and of the industrious student were harmoniously combined in the mental structure of Father Burke. He gave splendid proofs of the former during his sojourn in western Canada; nor did his activity cease after his arrival in Halifax. We have already considered some of his work here, but before passing on to his literary tournaments we must note the gradual expansion of the Church under his supervision.

His own letters, cited above, and the testimony of Bishop Denaut who, on the occasion of his visit in 1803, found peace and harmony, and a love of religion prevailing in the congregation of Halifax, bear ample witness to the tact and zeal of the pastor, as well as to the thoroughly solid nature of the instructions imparted by him to his flock. Although he took no praise to himself for this happy state of affairs, attributing it all to the good dispositions of the people, we can gather from what he incidentally mentions in a letter to the Bishop, that his share in the work was not light. On 23rd July, 1802, he says: "I have just received an account of the Scotch Catholics settled at Cape Louis and neighboring districts. They number about 1500. They are without a priest, excepting when Mr. McEachan visits them." (The Rev. James McDonald had become unfit for duty). "They tell me they expect two priests this year, and that your Lordship has empowered Father McEachan to give them faculties." Then he goes on to refer to the dangerous nature of the practice of allowing the people to procure pastors, and cites the difficulties that existed at Halifax as a case in point. In September, of the same year, he reports that the Church must be enlarged, it is already too small, and "our congregation is increasing." At that time there were seven warships of seventy-nine guns, and several frigates in the harbour. They had come from Jamaica under sealed orders, and until they had reached the "entrance of the harbour not a soul on board, officer or sailor, except the Commander-in-Chief, knew whither they were going, * * if a vessel appeared in sight the whole fleet raised the French flag, in order to make English ships keep at a distance, and to deceive the Yankees." He quaintly adds "even in this hell there are some saints." The sailing master who gave this information was a "zealous and pious Catholic."

In April, 1803, he writes that the "Scotch (Catholics) are gathering in Pictou." In the summer of 1802, eight hundred Scotch Catholics and two priests, had come to Nova Scotia, they settled chiefly at Arisaig, in Pictou county.

In the summer of 1805, his congregation was suddenly augmented by several hundred soldiers. He says: "Our new general on

his arrival gave orders that the soldiers should attend whatever Church they wished; more than half the garrison came to us. Nearly all the Germans, and all the Irish are Catholics * * * we are terribly crowded, your Lordship must either send me a priest to say an early mass, or grant me the privilege of duplicating on Sundays and holidays." An incident that happened during this same summer will serve to illustrate his sense of responsibility and care for souls. A prominent member of the congregation had given occasion for serious scandal. The man was truly repentant, and as Father Burke says, "took all the means which I suggested to atone for his fault. The wardens who had been so imprudent, and several others, some through jealousy, others through other motives perhaps equally unworthy, but all under the pretext of the glory of God, have urged me most strongly to turn the man out of the Church, and to let his pew to another. I shall not do either the one or the other, what has to be done, is to rescue this man from his misfortune, not to overwhelm him with despair."

In 1806, Father Grace was building a small church in his missions along the western shores of Halifax County. Father Lejamtel was winning souls to Christ in Cape Breton; The governor of that island reproved him for receiving converts into the Church, and forbade him to continue the practise! This amiable governor evidently imagined himself another Cromwell: but Father Burke merely remarked: "that they have only to come to me and I shall receive them, and laugh at his prohibitions."

It is well known that the first house of the Order of Trappists in Canada is that at Tracadie, Nova Scotia; it may not be equally well known that some years before the arrival of Father Vincent, its founder, Father Burke was desirous of introducing them, and of locating them on land which he had acquired in Antigonish. As we shall see he was largely instrumental in promoting the foundation of their Monastery at Tracadie.

The success attending the labours of Father Burke; the increase both in numbers and influence of the Catholic Congregation; and perhaps, principally, his determination of opening a college, aroused a spirit of hostility which soon found vent through the

public press. We have seen how the Anglican Bishop Inglis succeeded for a time in inducing the governor to refuse permission for a Catholic school. The opponents of the Church dread nothing more than real education. They may favour a knowledge of languages and the sciences, indeed, but history and philosophy they cannot abide. It is only by distorting history and suppressing philosophy they can hope to exist. Bishop Inglis had a college, built and endowed by Government; he would brook no rival in the field of education. Catholics and dissenters alike must receive their college training after a manner approved of by him, or remain in outer darkness. Father Burke was not the man to bow to such lordly tyranny; he even dared attack the would-be tyrant. No small courage was required to do this in Halifax in 1804, when the Church of England was "by law established," and the Catholics few, and in many respects under a ban. Intellectual ability, too, was needed, and with this Father Burke was abundantly furnished.

In February, 1804, Father Burke addressed a "Letter of instruction to the Roman Catholic Missionaries of Nova Scotia and its dependencies." In it he discusses very fully the nature of the Oath of Allegiance required of priests, and shows that whilst it is in part, insulting by implication, still it may be conscientiously taken. After various instructions on this head, he adds: "Let us then, my dear brethren and fellow-labourers, by our whole conduct, by our public instruction and private advice, by all the influence which our ministry gives, endeavor to silence misrepresentation. Actions are more forcibly persuasive than protestations; let that universal benevolence without distinction of friends or enemies which is the true characteristic of christianity, appear in our actions; that meekness, that modesty, that humility, that patience, which the Saviour enjoins, distinguish us as christians and disciples of a God who taught and preached all these virtues in his adorable humanity. Let us not only practice these virtues ourselves, but impress on the minds of our respective flocks, the indispensable necessity of practising them also: let us in a particular manner enforce that doctrine taught by Christ and his Apostles, 'Obedience to the ruling powers in all

simplicity and submission.' These are the moral principles of Catholics, this is the doctrine taught in our churches, in our universities, in our schools;—contained in our catechisms, in our authentic professions of faith: there the principles which we believe and profess are to be found, not in lying pamphlets. These productions of ignorance, malevolence and fanatical phrensy, which wild enthusiasts, and canting hypocrites, self-taught and self-constituted teachers and judges of the world, disseminate without number."

The letter contains nothing which should excite the ire of anyone; but a postscript is added which constitutes the first shot of the controversial campaign on the part of Father Burke. It explains, also, why it was fired. He says: "The last sheet of this letter was in the press, when a charge from a Prelate of the established Church accidently fell into my hands. What was my astonishment at seeing an official letter, from a man high in office, added to the many pamphlets which already disgrace our language, manifestly tending to excite dissensions and discontents, at a time when sound policy dictates the indispensable necessity of unanimity, and when all good men are endeavouring to draw more close the bonds of society." The ball is started with a strong initial velocity, and it does not decrease as it proceeds. "The Prelate in his great liberality pretends to exclude from the public schools, all non-Conformists and Roman Catholics * * he may rest assured that few Catholics or non-Conformists are envious of the stock of science which he possesses." Again: "The Prelate recites the tragical events of the seventeenth century, the murder of Charles the first, and thence takes occasion to make strong allusions and invidious insinuations against the non-Conformists of the present day. Surely the good man does not suspect any of those now living to have imbrued their hands in the King's blood." How clearly and accurately he distinguishes between the truth or falsity of a religious belief, and the civil rights of the individual, appears from the following extract.

"The Prelate roundly asserts that the the tenets of the Methodists are hostile to good government. With one dash of his pen he stigmatises a great proportion of the inhabitants of this province,

sober, industrious, inoffensive men. Upon a close investigation of their tenets, as assigned by him, I can discover nothing hostile to government. A man may be subject to the illusions of a heated imagination, without being an enemy to the state, or to any one member of the state. Agitations or contortions may make him an object of pity, or even a fit subject of ridicule, but not a rogue or a rebel, * * he may roll himself on the floor, distort his eyes, his mouth, and nose to expel the devil. What then? Call it simplicity, folly, stupidity, extravagance, give it what name you please, but it is not treason, nor any offence against the law."

Of course the poor Catholics fared badly at the hands of the irate Prelate. On this head Father Burke says: "That part of the charge which describes the pretended superstitions of Catholics, and the abandoned profligacy of the clergy, is a mere echo which repeats calumnies as often refuted as published." He promises a full and fair discussion of the whole charge, and to set forth the genuine principles of Catholic morality. His opinion of the Bishop's charge is not flattering: "I don't remember to have seen a more wretched performance; it seems composed of borrowed pieces badly assorted, written in a languid style, replete with dark insinuations against all those who have the misfortune to disagree in opinion with the author."

This daring and unexpected assault ruffled his Lordship, and created consternation in the camp of his admirers. It was all very well to denounce and vilify dissenters and Catholics, but that one of the vilified should turn and fiercely grapple with the head of the Church "by law established" was intolerable, yet it had to be borne; for Father Burke was now a recognized factor in the community, and his ready pen, and courteous manner of controversy, in striking contrast with that of some of his assailants, did valiant service in the cause of truth and equal rights, for many years. From a letter written to the Coadjutor Bishop of Quebec, 17th July, 1804, we learn Father Burke's view of the case. "Our Bishop Inglis was completely upset by the dose he received. It is good for him; perhaps it will cure him of his itch for calumniating Catholics, all of whom this bad man would annihilate, if he could. During

six months he and his pretentious son, did not cease to cover us with obliquy in the Church of Halifax, before publishing his calumnies, and the good man had so blackened us that people began to mistrust us. The devil is the father of lies, and those who are of his part imitate him, says the wise man. The postscript was severe; I shall tone it down."

As was to be expected writers innumerable seized the quill, and the newspapers of the day became the theatre of a wordy war. Father Burke singled out for attack the Rev. Mr. Stanser, afterwards Bishop, and Rev. Mr. Cochran, President of Windsor College, and replied to them in a pamphlet of over two hundred pages, printed by A. Gay, 1805. Subsequently he took up the letters of other correspondents, and gave very complete refutations of their attempted impeachment of Catholic doctrine and practises. Although his thrusts were keen, and his blows direct, he never lost his temper, nor indulged in abuse, that universal resource of the shallow controversialist. In 1805, Judge Cochran was drowned in Lake Ontario, the Rev. Mr. Cochran lost his place as President of Windsor College, and the wife of a third opponent "played him a bad trick," as Father Burke relates in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec. These events apparently ended the first campaign.

Later on the Rev. Mr. McCullough, a Presbyterian minister at Pictou, brought out a pamphlet, "Popery condemned," which drew forth a reply of more than three hundred pages from Father Burke, bristling with facts and unanswerable arguments.

Thus with tongue and pen he was at work, spreading the truths of religion, strengthening the faith of Catholics, giving them reason to rejoice at his eminent scholarship, dissipating the misconceptions of the well-meaning, silencing detractors, and winning respect for himself, and for his religious belief. How well he did all this, his own Bishop will tell us in another chapter.

CHAPTER XV.

Halifax in 1815.

THE subject of these Memoirs had now laboured for fourteen years in Halifax. Single handed he had attended to the spiritual wants of his flock in the town, and directed the operations of the missionaries, in the various parts of the large territory over which he had supervision. He had also ably explained and defended many points of Catholic belief through the press, and had completed the manuscript of an important work on "The ministry of the Church," which he purposed publishing in Ireland. After thirty years of arduous labour in Canada, and being now in his sixty-third year, he might well claim a short respite from work, and the pleasure of revisiting his country.

In a comparatively new and small community, such as Halifax was during these fourteen years of his ministry, a man of Father Burke's mental and moral parts, must have exercised no small influence in moulding public thought, and in establishing whatever social relations existed between Catholics and Protestants. His high literary attainments had commanded the respect of all; his zeal in the discharge of his spiritual duties had won the love of his people: and his manly championship of his faith, combined with an affability of manner, and respect for the honest opinions of others, had broken down the prejudices of the past. A brief survey of Halifax, in 1815, will be interesting historically, and it will enable us to guage more accurately the result of Father Burke's years of toil.

To those who have been born within ear-shot of the screech of steam engines, the whistle of steamers, and the click of the telegraph operator, the Halifax of 1815 will appear almost mythical in its quaint primitiveness. If they can be persuaded that there were no steamers, no railroads, no telegraph poles, they will never admit that life could have had its joys, and society its amusements, men

their hopes and ambitions, and women their glamoured romances, e'en as they are had to-day.

Taking up the "Acadian Recorder," of 1815, (a paper still published in Halifax), we read in the issue of 14th January, that it had "1300 subscribers, of whom forty had been added since the first of the month." The editor had been modest in his forecast, for he assures us "such unprecedented success has far exceeded our expectations." We learn also that smallpox continued, especially "among the negroes and poor."* There was little or no local news. In fact that which we should wish to have is not there. In its stead we have clippings from English and United States papers. Ships of war were on the move, and troop-ships scurrying from port to port.

On January 28th, we have late news from Quebec of 20th December. Coming down to May we light on many items regarding the state of France, one of which informs us that Bonaparte's carriage broke down as he reached the barrier of Paris. Looking on it as an evil omen his wrath was without bounds. On 3rd June, the editor tells us that he had been favoured with Liverpool papers of 15th April, and Cork ones of 22nd April. Issue of July 22nd reports arrival of ship "Trial," thirty five days from London, twenty-five days from Land's End. On 26th June, off Cowes, ship spoke Plymouth pilot who told of reported defeat of Napoleon, near Brussels, witn loss of 40,000 men and 150 pieces of ordnance. This was the first news of the battle of Waterloo. In the issue of August 5th, Wellington's report of the battle is published.

News travelled slowly in those days. Now we should expect Wellington's despatch, almost before he had dried the ink by using as a blotter the drum which had served for a desk. The unhealthy, feverish excitement of to-day, a disease unknown in 1815, goes far to offset many of the disadvantages of that period. The Haligonian of that day was not less happy because he did not breakfast on the crimes of the world, and sup on its scandals.

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*Smallpox had carried off many victims in 1801

Let us now see what Halifax was like in its material aspect, and also in its religious and social state. We have not to draw on our imagination for our facts, nor have we to trust to uncertain traditions, or memories liable to fail. We have the shrewd and appreciative observations of a cultured stranger, jotted down at the time. Bishop Plessis of Quebec visited Halifax, and other parts of Nova Scotia, in his official capacity, in 1815, and kept a diary, hitherto unpublished. From it we shall quote extensively.

His Lordship and suite left Quebec on 20th May, and after having visited Cap Chat, Arichat, Louisburg, Sydney and Bras d'Or, arrived off Halifax on 14th July. Nearing the harbour he says: "One notices here and there, some fine settlements; well built houses, meadows abounding in hay, and vast fields of potatoes, but little grain except rye, buckwheat and oats, and these in small quantities only * * We passed Devil's Island before arriving at Halifax harbour, formerly called Chebucto. This harbour has two separate entrances formed by several islands, some of which are covered with cheerful looking houses. * * The nearer one approaches Halifax along the coast the more interesting do its surroundings become. * * The most striking edifice is that containing the town clock. It is a square tower, and its ground flat which is very large, is occupied as a guard house. * * Its situation is extremely well chosen.

"Soon after this the barracks of the troops came into view, and then those of the artillery, both situated in the upper part of the town. The citadel with its flag, and signal staff, is visible at the same time. After this we see the steeples of the various churches, and then other buildings, public as well as private, which seem to vie with each other in the beauty of their situation, and the variety of their style. At last the whole city displays itself in the most advantageous manner. It has the form of a parallelogram placed upon the slope of a hill, which rises from a bay, the head of which is more than nine miles to the northwest of the town. Six large streets run parallel with the water; these are intersected by ten cross streets. Water street is half a mile in length, and is bordered with houses from one end to the other. The remaining streets are

being rapidly built up. One could not believe it possible that such noble houses as those in the upper part of the town, could be built of wood. Among others may be mentioned the house of the Chief Justice, of the Collector of Customs, and the one occupied by Major General Gosselin, built by the Duke of Kent, and now the property of the Government. To these we may add the Freemason Hall, and the Anglican and Presbyterian Churches. The Catholic Church is inferior to these, but in a few years it will surpass them all, if the members of the congregation persevere in their project of building a stone church upon a much larger plan." Needless to say they did persevere, and old St. Mary's soon confirmed the prophecy of the observant Bishop. The diary continues: "A great number of houses are finished with a flat roof, others have flat roofs on the wings, and a sloping one on the main building. One must come to Halifax to find handsome porticos, superb entrance doors and steps, broad stairways, and noble and well furnished apartments."

"The only public building, up to the present, built of stone, is the Governor's house. The stone is grey, and comes from Pictou. It is easily cut, and is here held in great repute. Some private individuals have used it to make columns, from eight to ten feet in height, to finish off the railings in front of their houses. With this same stone they are now building a hall, which will accomodate both Houses of the Provincial Parliament, also another house above the dock-yard, for the Admiral of this Station, and a third one for some officers of the Marine Department. These three edifices, now well advanced towards completion, cannot fail to greatly embellish the town."

The position and general aspect of the dockyard, are described with a lively appreciation of the order and cleanliness prevailing. Of the streets, he writes: "Excepting the sidewalks, the streets are not paved, but are covered with a kind of gravel or coarse sand, which dries as soon as the rain ceases to fall. They are generally kept extremely clean, and in many places are ornamented on both sides by willows, from which the tops are lopped off from time

to time, causing them to spread out, and thus affording as much shade as the linden and limes of Canada."

"Halifax is not surrounded by walls, or parapets, but is guarded by well entrenched batteries, placed in different parts of the town. St. George's Island, in front of the town, is remarkably well fortified. Towers and batteries are scattered around the harbour, at short distances apart. Signal stations are also numerous, so as not to leave the government in ignorance of any danger that may threaten the place, even from a great distance out at sea." He tells how Sambro, twenty miles off, could sustain a first attack, and warn the city by signals of the danger, and adds: "Thus in the late war no United States vessel dared to make the least attempt upon this place."

In reading these extracts from the diary of Bishop Plessis, we must bear in mind, that apart from his rank and position, he was a most remarkable man, perhaps the ablest of Quebec's long and illustrious line of Bishops. As his jottings were not intended for publication, we have an additional guarantee of their sincerity. He tells us he was anxious to reach Halifax, in order to meet Father Burke before his departure for Ireland, and only the happy chance of adverse winds, which had detained the packet in port, enabled him to do this. He praises the noble hospitality of Father Burke, who had entertained at his own expense, for several weeks, some Trappist Fathers, and three Ursiline Nuns from New York, on their way to Ireland. His reference to the old historic Glebe House of St. Mary's, will not be devoid of interest. He says: "The Bishop and his companions went at once to the house where they were expected, and there had the pleasure of finding Mr. Burke, who did not sail until two days later. This house is not the presbytery, but it stands on the same ground, and belongs to the Catholic congregation who built it more than twelve years ago, with the idea of establishing a college therein. This scheme they have not so far been able to carry out * * the house is let at a low rent to a catholic me chant named Laurence Doyle." This was the father of the late well known Laurence O'Connor Doyle. The Bishop continues: "It is, however, very large, so that without dis

turbing this family who occupy the lower part, Father Burke intends, on his return, to live there, and to leave the old presbytery to his assistant Father Mignault."

After this ordered and minute description, it requires no great effort of the imagination to bring before our mind's eye the Halifax of 1815. Then, as now, Halifax impressed visitors by the unsurpassed beauty of its approaches and surroundings, and its undefined air of quiet strength and repose.

The Bishop gives us an insight of the existing social relations, from which we can see that once the dreary incubus of New England bigotry had been shaken off, Halifax became the first city in the English speaking world in which the most friendly feeling between Catholics and Protestants was engendered. No city in the United States or in Canada, is to-day as far advanced in that respect, as Halifax was in 1815. The diary informs us that · "On the day after his arrival, the Bishop of Quebec hastened to pay his respects to the Lieutenant Governor, Sir John Sherbrooke, and to Admira Griffiths. The Admiral upon hearing that we intended visiting the missions of Chezzetcook and Prospect, obligingly offered to send us in one of the naval boats. * * The Governor, not to be outdone in politeness by the Admiral, made the Bishop a thousand offers of kindnesses, which were shown to be sincere by the promptness with which he set about restoring to a certain number of the Acadians of Chezzetcook a tract of five thousand acres of land, of which they appeared to have been unjustly dispossessed" * * It appears, from the diary, that up to that period no church bell was rung on Sunday's before ten o'clock, the hour at which the bell of the Anglican Church rang out. A word to the Governor on this point "freed," as the Bishop says, "the Catholic Church from this servitude for the future." He also praises the Governor for the readiness with which he entered into the Bishop's views for the temporal and spiritual good of the Indians in the vicinity of Halifax, and adds: "That is what one might call a liberal and well intentioned man." Dr. Cochran and Dr. Inglis son of the then Bishop, as well as the chief personages of Halifax, called on the Bishop of Quebec, during his short stay in the town.

There is an entry in the diary which may interest our Anglican friends. After noting that Bishop Inglis had "fallen into second childhood," he says of his son: "Dr. Inglis, regardless of the Canons of the Church, wishes to succeed to the Bishopric, to make sure of it, even during his father's lifetime, and has taken steps towards this end in England. Unfortunately His Majesty's ministers before passing their word, consulted General Sherbrooke, who in sounding public opinion has found the united suffrage to be in favour of Dr. Stanser, Rector of St. Paul's, Halifax. This gentleman came hither with very favourable recommendations and testimonials; he has just gone over to England, whence it is supposed he will bring back the Coadjutorship and right of succession."

His Lordship was entertained at dinner by the Admiral, and also by the Governor, where he met all the notabilities of Halifax. On both occasions he appeared in his Episcopal robes, a fact worthy of note in those days, and most creditable to the good sense both of the Bishop and the distinguished society which greeted him.

He had expected merely a "long boat" to carry him to Chezzetcook, but the Admiral sent a "naval tender," or sloop of war called the "Jane," carrying five guns. Incidentally we learn that the dinner hour was much earlier than at present. Speaking of a dinner given him by Major General Gosselin, cammander of the garrison, on the day he was to return from Prospect, the Bishop says: "five o'clock was the hour named, fearing that the voyage from Prospect might take more than was at first expected." Hence the ordinary dinner hour must have been considerable earlier than five.

We can easily gather from this record of the various acts of courtesy and hospitality extended to his lordship, as well as from the number who called to pay their respects, that Father Burke had not laboured in vain. His character and attainments had no small share in producing the harmony and good will that existed in Halifax.

On religious matters, the diary is not silent. "There are," it says, in Nova Scotia, a great number of sects, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Baptists, Arminians, Socinians, Methodists, New Lights, &c.

Each has its preachers and churches, great or small. The New Lights perhaps do not predominate over the others in Halifax, but they are certainly the dominant sect of the province. The Anglican clergy offer them all the opposition in their power."

It is, however, when he treats of the state of catholicity in Halifax, that we can realize, and appreciate, the apostolic labours of Father Burke during the fourteen years of his ministry. Bearing in mind the dissensions that existed before, and at his arrival; and, also, that he had been busily engaged in numerous sharp controversies during these years, our admiration of his many good qualities of head and heart will be amply justified. Until a few months before the Bishop's arrival he had no assistant. The condition of the flock is a good index of the pastor's spirit. In this case there was no one to share the praise or blame. Such as it was, it was his alone. The diary says:

"In the midst of this crowd of sects the Catholic religion is conspicuous by its unity, and by the general esteem in which its adherents are held. In consequence of some old government prejudice Catholics are excluded from all prominent places in the Council, at the Bar, and in the House of Representatives. Is this a misfortune for them? No, for the fewer the pretentions men have to earthly honours, the more as it is universally admitted, do they raise themselves towards the only solid hope, the heritage of heaven. Merchants, many of whom have pretty compact fortunes, workmen, farmers and domestics, compose the Catholic Church of Halifax. If it is not conspicuous by the rank which its children hold in the world, it is so by their fervour and the docility of their faith. The idea has never occurred to these Catholics that their religion is restricted to attendance at Mass and a liking for good sermons. When one reflects that out of about six hundred communicants there were not ten who had neglected the sacraments in Lent; when one sees them as diligent in attending Mass on week days as they were during the Bishop's stay amongst them; when one is witness to the eagerness with which they besieged the confessional, to the extent of keeping two or three priests busy during entire mornings; when one finds the sacristy full of children who come every day

to catechism, the girls in the morning, the boys in the evening, when one hears of the ambition of the parents to procure for their children a place among those who serve in the Sanctuary, nothing more is needed to convince one that the spirit of religion is as fervent here as in any other christian community of the Diocese of Quebec.

"Take in addition the great respect shown by the faithful to the pastors who lead them, the docility of their Church wardens, a class of persons who are sometimes torments to the parish priests of Canada, the zeal with which they come forward to contribute towards the repairing, or rebuilding of their too small church in a collection which already amounts to more than two thousand pounds sterling. None but fervent Catholics can unite so many excellent qualities.

"Besides those who are Irish, either by birth or origin, and these form the great majority of the parish, there are persons of different nationalities, some domiciled, others migratory, such as the Acadian boatmen, soldiers, sailors and negroes. The result of this is that in a parish of six hundred communicants, there is more work than in many a one of two thousand.

"It was to this congregation, assembled on the Sunday after his arrival, that the Bishop preached in English, badly enough pronounced, but nevertheless sufficiently well understood by those to whom he spoke, as well as by the Protestants to whom he did not speak, but whom curiosity had drawn in great numbers to the church. Thirty-four persons were confirmed that day, the remainder were reserved for the following Sunday. A much larger number communicated. Nothing could be more edifying than the deportment of these people in the Church, and the modesty with which they presented themselves for Communion. The organ, played by a young Catholic, accompanied the Roman chant."

We doubt if ever a Bishop gave more magnificent testimony to the work of a pastor as seen in its results, than we here find set down by Bishop Plessis in his private diary, presumably intended for no eyes but his own. No words of ours can add weight to the splendid eulogium; it proves beyond the slightest preadventure that

he who had given proof of a great missionary spirit in the wild west, here in the most polished town on this continent, gave equal proof of high mental and moral qualities, and a capacity for leading cultivated souls in the higher paths of the spiritual life. How busy the days, aye, and the nights of Father Burke must have been, we can judge from the amount of literary work performed, whilst thus faithfully attending to the spiritual wants of a congregation, which as the Bishop remarks, demanded more labour than many another of two thousand communicants. Whilst nothing is lacking to the completeness of this testimony to the worth of Father Burke and his congregation, one who has more ample sources of knowledge than had Bishop Plessis, can repeat of the flock of to-day the words written in 1815.

Mr. Doyle who had rented the Glebe House, gave a dinner to which a number of the principal Catholics were invited to meet the Bishop. His Lordship slyly remarks: "The conversation turned generally on religious topics; but while speaking of edifying matters, these good Irishmen were most unsparing of the wine."

His Lordship left Halifax for Digby County. A Mr. Conroy supplied horses and a carriage for the Bishop and his Secretary, and a huge van for the luggage. From the accounts of the Church we learn that forty-seven pounds were paid for conveying the party to Annapolis. Possibly the taxes are higher now than then, but we can travel much more cheaply, and immeasurably more comfortably. The Bishop has a good word for the roads; he tells us, also, that dinner at the first inn * cost twenty-seven shillings, "a presage," he mournfully exclaims, "of what we would have to pay before reaching our journey's end." Yet this dark cloud had its silver lining, for he gleefully adds: "This first amount was not expended by us, but by Dr. Keegan, a Catholic physician who had wished to accompany us this far."

Before taking final leave of this chatty and interesting diary, we will give one more extract:

'We were to stay that evening at a superb country house, belonging

* At or near Bedford.

to Mr. Uniacke, (the elder), a member of Council, Attorney General, Judge of the Admiralty, &c., who had urgently entreated the Bishop to rest there in passing. It is nine leagues from the town. * * We arrived very late. Madam Uniacke and Lady Mitchel, her step-daughter, received us with as much courtesy as these English ladies, stiff and starched as they usually are can show.* After tea to each of us was apportioned an immense room perfectly furnished with chairs, tables, chests of drawers, stoves (mounted all the year round it appeared), and excellent beds, each large enough to accommodate a whole family. The following morning we had time to look at this immense and costly house with its innumerable dependencies, bath rooms, billiard rooms, balconies, servants' quarters, well kept groves on the borders of a large and rather deep lake, the waters of which are carried to the sea by several small streams; nothing that could render this place charming has been neglected." With an eye to the practical side of life, he remarks that scarcely any grain is grown on this fine property, and hence it returns nothing for the lavish outlay; then he mildly moralizes on the taste of men, some hoard through avarice, others spend through vanity, or for pleasure, and adds: "Life passes in various occupations, and they do not think of eternity." After breakfast, which was served with the "same elegance and ceremony" of the night before, the party "re-entered their carriage; the cart received its load, and we left for Windsor."

Our readers will join in wishing a hearty *bon voyage* to the amiable and observant Bishop, for having given us such pleasant glimpses of Halifax in one thousand eight hundred and fifteen.

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* Mrs. Uniacke was not however an English woman.

CHAPTER XVI.

TRAVELLING.

WHILST Bishop Plessis was wending his way, by easy stages, to St. Mary's Bay, Father Burke was being tossed drearily along on the broad Atlantic. For two or three years he had been suffering from an internal complaint, which only the knife of a skilled surgeon could relieve. As he had expressed it in a letter to the Bishop, "although it did not prevent him from working, it was silently undermining his health." But he could not, and would not leave his post at Halifax until there was some one to take his place. At length the Bishop sent him an assistant in the person of Rev. Mr. Mignault, who came in October, 1814, and exercised his ministry in Halifax until the summer of 1817. The last act in the register bearing his signature is dated 21st August of that year.

Whilst Father Burke was contemplating a trip to Europe in the spring of 1815, an event transpired which enabled him to make better provision for the spiritual wants of his flock than he had dared hope. It was also the beginning of the realization of his dream of founding a Trappist Monastery in Eastern Nova Scotia. In the year 1812, Father Vincent was sent from France with some of his brother Monks to found a Trappist Monastery in the United States. An attempt was made in Maryland, but soon abandoned. A site was next chosen near New York, but in 1814, the Superior with the greater part of the community returned to France, and Father Vincent was ordered to follow with the remainder, so soon as he should have arranged his affairs. During the winter two of the community died, and in the spring Father Vincent and four others sailed for Halifax. Here they found a ship for Europe. Whilst waiting for a favourable wind Father Vincent came ashore one morning. A breeze sprang up suddenly; the captain weighed

anchor and sailed swiftly out to sea, leaving Father Vincent behind. Later on he received permission from his Superior to remain in Nova Scotia. Father Burke appointed him to assist Rev. Mr. Mignault in Halifax, and to attend occasionally the Acadians at Chezzetcook. Having made this provision for the spiritual wants of his people, Father Burke was free to depart.

In the vessel by which Father Vincent and his brother Monks had come from New York to Halifax, there came also three Nuns of the Order of Ursilines. These ladies had gone from Cork some three years previously, to found a house in New York. Various circumstances combined to discourage them, and the Superioress in Ireland had written them to return. For several weeks Father Burke supported both the Trappists and Nuns at his own expense, a fact which Bishop Plessis reveals to us in his diary. Two daughters of Mr. Doyle, and two of Mr. James Tobin, desirous of being educated in an Irish convent, embarked with the Nuns and Father Burke, for Cork. They sailed on the 16th July, 1815, and must have had a favourable passage, for Father Burke writes from Cork on 16th August, saying: "Here I am at Cork after a most prosperous voyage, without accident of any sort. * * The Bishop is absent, but is expected home from day to day. The question of the 'Veto'* is renewed, and is warmly discussed. I find a very strong opposition to it amongst the clergy, and also amongst the people who do not wish to hear it even mentioned." The forests of Western Canada, and the magnificent surroundings of Halifax were forgotten when the eyes of the veteran missionary viewed again the quiet beauties of Erin. He exclaims: "Ireland appears more beautiful to me than ever. It is assuredly the most charming country of the world. You must see it with your own eyes in order to realize all its beauties."

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*The Government was prepared to give a stipend to the Clergy provided it were granted the right of Veto in the appointment of Bishops. Some Catholics were in favour of this compromise, but O'Connell and the Irish Bishops almost to a man opposed it. Father Burke in various letters shows his hostility to it.

He writes from London 21st September, and relates with joy that the Bishops of Ireland had refused to submit to the Veto, although the Pope appeared inclined to favour it, and adds that should one be appointed by the government, the people would not recognize him. It will be seen from this that although Father Burke was always a staunch and loyal supporter of the government, and on close terms of intimacy with its leading representatives both at Quebec and Halifax, he would never consent to barter the freedom of the Church, in the appointment of its chief pastors, for a mess of potage in the shape of some civil rights for the laity and a stipend for the clergy.

He had a fair collection of books in his library at Halifax, but he bought in London the "Fathers of the Church which I have not already," and he was on the look out for the "Annals of Baronius, and a collection of the Councils." The student was not swallowed up in the traveller.

Whilst in London, he wrote and forwarded to Rome a lengthy document, in which he gives a graphic account of British North America, from an ecclesiastical standpoint.

With his characteristic outspokenness he tells the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda of the commotion excited in Ireland by reason of his letter on the question of the Veto, lately sent to the Bishops. How the people were crying out that whilst their fathers for generations had borne persecution, but had kept the faith, now a great danger menaced it, the Pope having been deceived by his and their enemies.

Speaking of the state of religion in British North America he points out again the necessity of erecting one or two more Dioceses in Lower Canada, suggesting Montreal and Three Rivers as the new Sees, For Upper Canada, in which he says there were only about three priests, adding "can there be found in the whole world a country inhabited by civilized beings in such an abandoned state." He suggests that it be divided into two or three Prefectures. The Prefect Apostolic of the Kingston district should be "Scotch or English, or Irish; preferably a Scotchman, as the greater

number of the inhabitants are of Scottish descent." Similarly in the Maritime Provinces Prefectures should be erected.

It must be borne in mind that Father Burke was now intimately acquainted with the whole country, more so perhaps than any living man. He had worked eight years in the Province of Quebec, seven in Western Canada, and fourteen in the Maritime Provinces. Keenly realizing the inadequacy of the existing Ecclesiastical organization to meet the requirements of the faithful, or to cope with the aggressiveness of opponents, he felt bound in conscience to lay a plain statement of the case before the Supreme authority. The Bishops of Quebec had admitted their inability to supply priests for the outer missions. This is justification sufficient for his action, were it needed. In a short time all his suggestions somewhat modified were carried out. Even then Rome saw their wisdom, and apparently called him to Rome from London. This appears to be implied in a letter written by him in Rome, December 12th, 1815, addressed to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda.*

Whilst in Rome he wrote, doubtless at the request of Propaganda, for it was subsequent to the session in which the congregation first treated of the separation of Nova Scotia from the Diocese of Quebec, another report on the state of religion in the English colonies of North America. After having named the Maritime Provinces, and given some idea of their civil state, he says: "In these provinces in which there are a large number of Catholics, there are only ten or eleven priests, and not even one Catholic school, so that many live and die without spiritual succour. Amongst the Indians, who are all Catholics, there is not one priest. The Bishop of Quebec has never been able to find in his Seminary enough of priests to fill the places that become vacant in the centre of the Diocese, that is in Lower Canada. Hence he is obliged to leave many missions without priests. The laws forbid the incoming of foreign clergymen, and the Bishop, who does not dare do anything without the consent of the Governor General, as he himself and all the religious communities are at the discretion of the Government,

* Archives of Propaganda.

gives faculties to such priests only who can produce a passport from the Minister of State, a thing that is rarely granted. Hence it happens that English speaking priests as well as foreigners are excluded. In the meantime the societies in London send over a crowd of preachers with a corrupt version of the Bible, and innumerable pamphlets in which the Catholic faith is distorted, and the Church and the Pope calumniated in the most atrocious and indecent manner.

"Against all these evils there is only one remedy, that is, to withdraw the above mentioned provinces from the spiritual jurisdiction of Quebec, so as to lay them open to English speaking priests, who according to the laws can now enter, and who could exercise their ministry without the consent of the Government, as they do in England."

We see from this that religion was languishing because Quebec could not supply priests from her seminary, and the Bishop, not to give cause of quarrel to the Government, would not receive even English subjects unless they had its approval.

Well might Father Burke add: "It is, therefore, an absolute necessity for the good of religion, to erect these provinces into Prefectures, immediately subject to the Holy See. But to avoid all outcry and contention * * it would appear opportune to establish them one after the other, installing as Prefects simple priests with the necessary jurisdiction who could build up schools and seminaries as time goes on. There is even now a house in Halifax provided with all the necessaries for a seminary, and for the support of which ample means have been secured. Being the funds of an individual the Government cannot lay hands on them, and they may be held in perpetuity by passing them from hand to hand, as the Jesuits and other communities do in England and Ireland."*

This letter which delineates with a master hand what is now the Dominion of Canada, lays bare its spiritual needs, and suggests such opportune remedies. is dated at Rome, 12th February, 1816.

*Archives of Propaganda.

We have deemed the above extracts of sufficient importance to warrant their reproduction.

Towards the end of April Father Burke left Rome, spent a short time in France, and reached Halifax at the end of July, having been absent a year and a few days.

The Church has encountered and overcome many enemies; she has been beset by innumerable dangers which to all human seeming meant her utter destruction; but the promise of Christ never failed, and the hand of the Omnipotent brought her forth not only triumphantly, but with increased numbers from the conflict. Napoleon at the height of his power and military strength after having made thrones his footstools, and kings his boding pages, measured himself against the weak and worn old Pontiff Pius VII. The incarnation of physical strength and brute force was pitted against an aged man who owned no cannon, and commanded no armies. He was, moreover, a prisoner, and deprived of his counsellors. But he represented the spiritual force, he was the incarnation of conscience and religion. The contest between him and Napoleon was the most complete duel between the natural and the supernatural that the world has ever witnessed. But the world has a short memory; it forgets that Pius VII vanquished the warrior, and that in 1816 he was reigning in Rome whilst Napoleon was chafing his life away on the rock of St. Helena. But perhaps greater dangers were threatening the Church even then. To show how great they were in the eyes of men we will quote from a letter written to Bishop Plessis by Father Burke, August 2nd, 1816: "I have just arrived after a long passage without any accident, and with robust health which before was failing. * * Passing through France I saw with my own eyes the fulfillment of the prophecy of Sister of the Nativity,—three hundred thousand strange soldiers scattered through the country, and living at their ease at the expense of the French, whose fields are laid waste by the horses of the troops. Never has one seen a people so humiliated; but are they converted? I dare not be sure, but at least religion is outwardly re-established by the care of the king who is working seriously to that end. Perhaps God never before permitted such

an evil beast as Bonaparte to ravage his fields—'a singular beast hath destroyed it.' * * * Religion has suffered much in Italy, though not to the same extent as in France. Nevertheless the Holy Father finds himself grievously embarrassed; first by the Emperor of Austria, who has come to an understanding with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia to form a common religion, and consequently has forbidden his subjects to have recourse to the Court of Rome; secondly, by the King of France, who dates his reign from the death of Louis XVII, and therefore takes no account of the Concordat made with Bonaparte. Then the King of Portugal has sent an energetic protest against the re-establishment of the Jesuits; and the Irish are dissatisfied with His Holiness (on account of the action of his minister regarding the Veto) and some of them threaten a schism. I had almost forgotten the Flemish, who complain bitterly of some arrangements made by the Pope's minister with their new king."

This is a list of difficulties sufficiently formidable; yet the brave old Pope who had not bowed to Napoleon, was not to be disconcerted, or turned from his purpose by lesser opponents. As when the frightened disciples awoke the Saviour in the storm-tossed ship lest they should perish, so the Pontiff now invoked the aid of his Divine Master, that the "gates of hell should not prevail" against his Church. Again showing His Almighty power the Lord stretched forth his hand,—the tempest subsided: the Pope carried out his designs, and ended peacefully a long and glorious pontificate eight years later. We shall only add here that whilst in Rome Father Burke attended a consistory and "postulated" for the Pallium for the second Archbishop of Baltimore.

CHAPTER XVII.

VICAR APOSTOLIC.

IT was not to be expected that the authorities in Rome should take no notice of Father Burke's "Relation" on the state of religion in these parts. They knew of his zeal and eminent qualities both from the Bishops of Quebec and the Archbishop of Dublin. Then they had him in Rome for several months and were enabled to guage his character and capabilities. Propaganda had recognized the cogency of his reasons for the subdivision of the immense Diocese of Quebec away back in 1797; and even before 1794, had felt that his remarks regarding Upper Canada called for action on their part. We know how the whole world had been in confusion from that date until the end of 1815. Once peace had come, and order had been restored, the Congregation resumed its work, and one of the first objects of its care was this country of ours. Nova Scotia was practically cut off from Quebec December 11th, 1815, although owing to the difficulties of communication it was not until May 1817 that it was technically released. As the Church of Nova Scotia is the oldest in America outside of the Spanish possessions, and as it was the first in what is now Canada to secure autonomy, by being disjoined from Quebec, it is of importance to give an ordered account of the various steps which led up to the happy result. We shall thus have history, and not highly colored efforts of the imagination, or what we might wish had been. We shall also be able to award praise, or blame, intelligently. Our method of quoting documentary evidence of the most undoubted character will be followed.

In the transactions of the Congregation of Propaganda for 1817 we have under the heading—Articolo X—Halifax Nella Nuova Scozia—the whole history of the affair set out for our perusal, beginning at No. 56 to No. 59 inclusive. It says: "In the general Session

of the Sacred Congregation of 11th December, 1815, the dismemberment of Nova Scotia from the too extensive Diocese of Quebec, for the very solid reasons brought forward by the Priest Edmund Burke, Vicar General of Quebec, at Halifax, and the erection of Nova Scotia into a Vicariate Apostolic, and to constitute this same Burke, who has deserved so well of these Missions, a Vicar with title and Episcopal character, was resolved on, provided the Bishop of Quebec should consent thereto. For this purpose a letter was written to that Prelate on 16th April, 1816, notifying him of the resolution taken, and asking him if he were satisfied with this dismemberment, as he had several times said he was not able to bear the burden of such a vast Diocese, and that it was altogether necessary to effect a division. This letter was consigned to Mr. Burke.

"On his arrival in Halifax, Mr. Burke forwarded at once the letter of the Sacred Congregation to the Bishop of Quebec; and although he imagined that the Bishop would not have consented to the project, he found that that Prelate gave his full adhesion, for he replied to Mr. Burke in these terms: 'I shall willingly subscribe to the project of the Sacred Congregation, viz., to erect the peninsula of Nova Scotia into a Vicariate Apostolic, and to propose you for the position. I should have preferred that the Holy See had made it a titular bishopric. * * In any case, and in whatever way the affair is arranged, I find it much to my advantage, that is, to have one Province less on my conscience; and I am doubly pleased in reflecting that it will be under the jurisdiction of a man whose capacity and merit I well know. Propaganda will soon receive my full consent to that effect.' Mr. Burke in making this known to the Congregation, forwarded also the original letter of Bishop Plessis, dated at Quebec 10th September, 1816, and which is undoubtedly from the Bishop's hand. The letter which that Prelate promises to write to the Sacred Congregation, has not yet arrived, or it has been lost. Nevertheless since his consent is sufficiently apparent from what he has written to Mr. Burke, and from what he had already declared, it appears that the Decree of 11th December, 1815, should be put into execution, by constituting

Mr. Burke Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia, with a title and Episcopal character." Paragraphs 58 and 59 speak of the spiritual desolation of Bermuda and the Bahamas, in the former of which Father Burke said it was certain that no priest had ever been ;—that Father Burke had agreed to endeavour to find a priest to visit Bermuda at least once a year, but did not wish to have it incorporated in the Vicariate. Then follows the usual list of questions to be decided in the Session. Number 12 is—"Shall Mr. Burke (pp 56, 57) be appointed Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia with title and Episcopal character?" To this the Cardinals reply "affirmatively" and submit their decision to the Holy Father through their secretary. This was in the General Congregation of 19th May, 1817.*

It can be seen from Bishop Plessis' letter to Father Burke, that his Lordship wished for titular Bishops, that is, Vicars General of his own with Episcopal consecration. This, whilst holding all power centralized at Quebec, would have simply perpetuated under a more irritating form, the ever languishing state of religion outside of Lower Canada, and effectually frustrated the plan for procuring Missionaries without seeking the consent of Government. The auxiliary Bishop would have no more power of initiative than had Father Jones, or Father Burke. He and the Acadians might time and again petition the Bishop of Quebec for a French speaking priest, only to be told, as Father Jones had been told, that there was no resource for Nova Scotia, save in the zeal of Irish and English priests who might wish to come and serve under him ; and that the Acadians must accustom themselves to English speaking priests. Thanks to the prompt action of Propaganda, grasping as it did the full import of Father Burke's enlightened policy, Nova Scotia was emancipated ; and although both before and after Dr. Burke's death the Bishop of Quebec endeavoured to have the new Vicariate suppressed, it would not make a retrograde movement.

On July 26th, 1817, the Prefect of Propaganda wrote to Father Burke, notifying him of the action of the Pope in erecting the

*(Archives of Propaganda.)

Vicariate of Nova Scotia, immediately subject to the Holy See, and appointing him Bishop of Zion, and Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia. The letter also says : " I have learned that Prince Edward Island is in nearly the same necessity (as Nova Scotia), so that the Sacred Congregation is thinking of constituting a Vicar Apostolic there also, for which office Rev. Æneas McEachan has been mentioned. But as we do not know everything about that priest we beg your Lordship to send us accurate information regarding him, and whether he is really worthy to be placed over that Mission."

Unfortunately for Prince Edward Island, the policy of Bishop Plessis of having auxiliary Bishops, either in the fear lest he should offend the Government, or from a belief in the efficacy of centralized power, prevailed for a time.

When Dr. Burke received the Bulls authorizing his consecration, he deemed it too late in the season to proceed to Quebec. Hence it was only on 5th July, 1818, that he received Episcopal consecration at the hands of Bishop Plessis, in Quebec. From the moment, however, that he had been officially notified of his appointment, he began with his usual energy to make provision for the spiritual needs of his Vicariate. With a view to the founding of a Trappist Monastery, as well as to provide for the Acadians and Indians in eastern Nova Scotia, he sent Father Vincent to assume charge of Tracadie, Harbour Boucher and Cheticamp.* The project which Dr. Burke had in view, and which he outlined in a letter to the Bishop of Quebec was to have a Trappist Monastery at Tracadie, which should serve as a centre of religious life for the neighboring missions, and around which the Micmacs of Cape Breton and the adjacent localities might congregate at certain periods. Although he did not live to see the full realization of this project, he is nevertheless entitled to a large share of the credit of having been the chief promoter of the first Trappist Monastery established in Canada.

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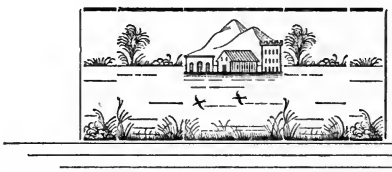
*See memoirs of this holy Monk, translated and edited by Miss A. M. Pope.

In August, 1817, Rev. Mr. Mignault, who had been three years in Halifax, returned to Quebec, and afterwards went to Chambly, founded a college, and died at the ripe old age of 84, in Montreal, in the year 1868. He was succeeded in Halifax by Rev. Philip Larrisey, who, however, remained only for a brief period in Nova Scotia.

In 1817 a Rev. Mr. Doucet, of the Diocese of Quebec, who had made a novitiate with the Trappists, arrived in Halifax, and Dr. Burke secured his services for Nova Scotia. For two years or more he laboured in Halifax, and in the autumn of 1819 he was sent to assist the Abbé Sigogne in the Western Counties, where he laboured some years. He died at Tracadie 1825.

Dr. Burke also sought out young men suitable for the ministry, and in a short time had made a most promising beginning for supplying his Vicariate with well trained missionaries.



CHAPTER XVIII.

HIS EPISCOPAL LABOURS.

AS already stated, Dr. Burke was consecrated on 5th July, 1818. He was in the sixty-sixth year of of his age, and had lived a laborious life ever since his advent to Canada, in 1786. At his age, after such a career, the average man would feel desirous of laying down the burden borne so long; but Bishop Burke was considerably more than the average man. Hence he bravely took up the load of the Episcopate, grasped the crozier with a strong hand, and with all his old time energy and devotion to duty, went forth to his new and increased responsibilities. We cannot form a true estimate of a character, nor take the measure of its capabilities, until we see the individual following, without let or hinderance from another, plans of his own initiation. In Western Canada, and in Halifax, Dr. Burke had responsibility without power—the most irksome and galling of positions. He could only suggest; and whilst we believe his suggestions were excellent, we cannot try them by the touchstone of success, for they were never acted on. Now in his declining years he was able both to initiate, and to carry out.

His first care was, as we have seen, to ensure a supply of zealous priests for his Vicariate. He wisely resolved to educate a clergy for himself, rather than accept the services of those from other Dioceses who might present themselves for adoption. He says: "I do not wish for any subjects except those which I shall have formed here myself, or at Quebec." So energetically did he labour, that in September of 1818, he could write: "I have at present four young men studying theology," and he hoped in a few weeks to open his seminary,

To provide suitable education for the little ones of his flock, was another duty which engaged his fatherly solicitude. The old

presbytery which had been built in 1785, was removed to another site, and fitted up as a school for girls. The Catholic women of the congregation formed a society to provide funds for the payment of teachers. The boys had class rooms in tbe Glebe House, which also served as a residence for Bishop Burke, his assistant, and a college. Thus was planted the fruitful germ of Catholic education in Halifax. In September, 1820, there were one hundred and ninety-three girls, and about one hundred boys attending these pioneer Catholic educational establishments. And Bishop Burke could write: "The number of boys is daily increasing in my school, * * and I shall soon have them all away from the Methodist schools." As already noted, the female teachers were paid through the care of the ladies' society. In the old Glebe House this is how the boys' school was provided for: "I have," writes the Bishop, "two ecclesiastics under Mr. Carroll, who is a priest now; one of the two is in minor orders. They eat at my table, and I clothe them. This is more than the fees from the school * * Should it happen that my successor should be unknown to me, I shall put the schools almost on an independent footing."

How successful was his brilliant, but, alas! too short administration, is set forth in a letter from Rev. Mr. McEachan, afterwards Bishop of Charlottetown. Writing from Halifax to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, in November, 1819, Father McEachan, who had then passed twenty-nine years as missionary in P. E. Island, says: "Now that the Rt. Rev. Dr. Burke, Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia, can act for himself, he is placing and will place these numerous and extensive missions, hitherto neglected, on a respectable footing. He has ordained three priests this year, and has three more almost ready for Holy Orders. He himself teaches in his own house, in which he has also a school for the Catholic boys of this city. He will establish in the course of next summer a seminary at St. Margaret's, as shown on the enclosed map. This will provide not only for the wants of his Lordship, but will also be an advantage to us, on account of its proximity to our island and to Cape Breton. * * Whatever funds the Almighty

may be pleased to put at the disposition of this learned Prelate, will be faithfully employed for their proper uses. Had he been made Vicar Apostolic fifteen years ago, these missions would now be provided with a sufficient number of priests, and I, at my time of life, and in an island one hundred and sixty (?) miles long, and indented by great bays and rivers, would not be depending on one Canadian priest."*

This testimony of one who was perfectly cognizant of all the data of ecclesiastical life in the Maritime Provinces, is of much importance. It bears witness to the success of Dr. Burke's administration; it confirms the accuracy of his prevision, as to results, and the wisdom of his action, in seeking to have these provinces separated from the Diocese of Quebec; and it endorses what has been said about the scanty provision made since the conquest, for the spiritual succour of Acadia.

A word as to the three priests whom Bishop Burke had ordained during 1819. One was Rev. James Grant, an Irish ecclesiastic, who came from Quebec with Dr. Burke, when returning after his consecration. He laboured many years in eastern Nova Scotia. Another was Rev. Thomas Rice, who assisted in Halifax from June, 1819, to October, 1820. Failing in health he visited France to recruit, but went to an early grave in that fair country. The third was the Rev. Denis Geary. who filled up forty-three years of active ministry, dying in Dartmouth in 1862.

In the spring of 1820, Bishop Burke ordained two priests, the Rev. Mr. Dunphy, known later on as Dean Dunphy, and the Rev. John Carroll, a nephew of his own. Father Carroll remained in Halifax until the end of 1827, served some time on the mission in St. John, N. B., and later on in the Diocese of Toronto. He only died in 1889.

Bishop Burke being himself a student, although an active missionary as well, was desirous that the clergy should be, as a body, learned men. Frequently in his letters this idea holds a foremost place, and is very clearly expressed in one to Archbishop Murray of Dublin.†

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*Archives of Propaganda. †24th May, 1817.

He is giving his reasons for opposing the "Veto," of which he says: "You know I think it a measure ultimately destructive of the Catholic religion, in Ireland, and I believe intended for that purpose." He proceeds to show how it would have that effect, and how by suppressing foreign colleges, and accepting only those who had been educated at Maynooth, the sphere of knowledge would be restricted, and "ignorance and its companion vice would follow," and adds: "I know well it must not be expected that all the clergy should be men of science, but I know it is necessary that some should study and write, and that they should have the means" of so doing. The breadth of view and comprehensiveness of mind which characterized the man, are very manifest in this letter.

The visitation of the various missions of Nova Scotia was no light task in those days. True a bi-weekly coach had been running between Halifax and Windsor since 1816, and for six dollars, Isaiah Smith would take you back or forth. But it was a long tiresome journey from Windsor to St. Mary's Bay, a good one hundred and forty miles, and fifty more from Church Point to Eelbrook. Should one prefer to go by water, there was no trim steamer to bear one quickly over the moaning waves; not even a regular packet in which some slight accommodation might be found. No; one must depend on some chance fishing smack, in which, for days perhaps, one must endure all the concentrated nausea of bilge water, stuffy atmosphere, and fishy odors. The journey to Pictou, Antigonish, and Tracadie was not so long, still it bristled with inconveniences of various kinds.

In the summer of 1819, Bishop Burke visited Church Point and Eelbrook, and the adjacent hamlets. There is still living a venerable old Acadian, Mr Louis Bourque, (the French form of Burke) who served the Bishop's mass on that occasion. He is now in his ninety-second year, and I have before me some letters written by him quite recently, which in penmanship and literary style are superior to High School graduating essays. This worthy patriarch of St. Mary's Bay can describe every incident of the Episcopal visit. He well remembers how, after a hard day's work, the Bishop

stood with the Abbé Sigogne outside the door of the small presbytery, pointing out and explaining the various constellations glowing in the firmament, as he had been accustomed to do, thirty years previously, to his class of embryo astronomers in the Seminary, at Quebec.

The following summer he made a visitation of eastern Nova Scotia, administering the Sacrament of Confirmation at Antigonish, St. Andrew's, Tracadie, Arisaig, etc., encouraging pastors and people, giving salutary admonitions and wise counsel. On his return to Halifax in September, 1820, having seen for himself the state of religion in his Vicariate, he issued a pastoral letter to the priests and people under his charge.

This letter was written in Latin, and the pastor was to translate into the vernacular—English Gaelic, or French, as the case might be—and read to his flock those paragraphs which were addressed to the people. The admonitions and directions for the clergy were for themselves alone. They had regard to the enforcement of the disciplinary laws of the Church, with some regulations adapted to the peculiar circumstances of the country. It would appear that, then as now, men indulged unduly in strong drinks. In reading what Bishop Burke says on this point, we must bear in mind the more primitive state of life in remote districts, the long distances that funeral processions had to march, and the very few opportunities of social intercourse. "He heard with astonishment, in some missions, that large quantities of rum were consumed at funerals, and quarrels sometimes took place in the graveyard." He strictly prohibits any priest to give Catholic burial to a corpse, if intoxicating liquor be brought to the cemetery. Paragraph third throws a strong light on some social habits of the time, and seems worthy of quotation. It says: "We have heard also that at marriage feasts a great multitude of men and women assemble, eating and drinking during the whole night and day, perhaps for several days, so that the marriage of a daughter is at times the ruin of her parents as well as of her husband. From this, too, arise drunkness, quarrelling, fighting and other scandals, unworthy of the Christian name. That they may no longer be heard

we strictly command, in virtue of obedience, that none be admitted to a marriage feast except the parents of the spouses, and their relatives and friends, to the number of twenty-five only."

"*Frolics*" also were to be regulated by having men alone, or women only, according as the work to be performed was peculiar to men, or women. He recognized, he says, that owing to the circumstances of life in this new country, the friendly aid mutually given at these *frolics* might be beneficial; the above regulation aimed at retaining the benefit whilst eliminating the occasion of evil. This pastoral was not printed, but written copies were sent to the clergy. It is dated 25th September, 1820.*

Bishop Burke was anxious to have a Coadjutor in order to ensure the permanency of his work, and the carrying out of his plans. He may have suspected, although it does not appear from his letters, that which took place, viz., that an attempt would be made to suppress the new Vicariate, and bring it again under the jurisdiction of Quebec. In any case he knew it would be a serious drawback to have his place vacant for any length of time, or to have it filled by a stranger. He rightly concluded that some personal knowledge of the distinctive features of a diocese is essential to its successful administration. It would be his labour of love to see that his successor should have this qualification. He first thought of applying to Archbishop Murray for his former secretary, but, as he very candidly tells that prelate, "doubting very much whether a Dublin parish priest would accept such a situation, and yet more so whether he could provide for such a mission, in which the bulk of Catholics are French and Scotch, who don't speak a word of English, I have turned my thoughts to Canada. There is in that Diocese a priest born in this town, but bred in Canada, who however speaks English well," &c.†

From a letter to the Bishop of Quebec, of December 22nd, 1818, we learn who this priest was. We read: "Enclosed your Lordship will find an application to the Prefect of Propaganda,

*The copy before me was sent to the Abbe Sigogne; we are indebted to Mr. Placide P. Gaudet for it.

†Arch. Hal.

praying him to give me Rev. Mr. Maguire for a Coadjutor, and I beg your Lordship to endorse it and have it forwarded as soon as possible. You know the man, and you know he is the one I require ; he would keep up always a friendly intercourse with your Diocese." In a subsequent letter referring to this subject, he writes : "This province is rapidly developing, and by reason of its natural advantages, it cannot fail to be, within a few years, a most flourishing country. Consequently we must make an effort for the support and extension of religion."

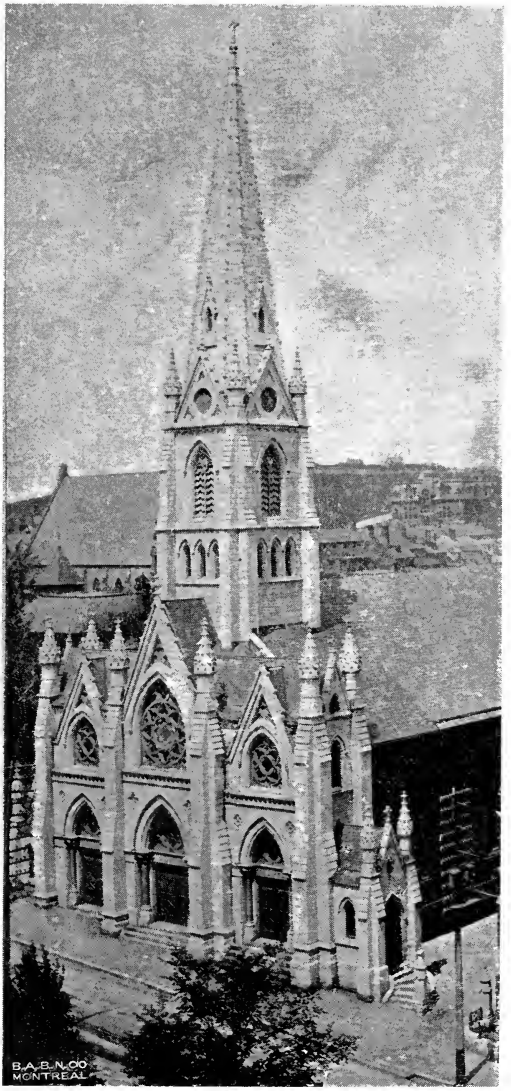
Bishop Burke with his knowledge of the intentions and views of the Government, and with his master hand on the pulse of the Province, knew the significance of the activity that was vibrating throughout, and which had been steadily increasing since the general peace of 1816. Nova Scotia was awakening to life ; her children were beginning to realize the richness of their goodly inheritance, and the Bishop foresaw and rejoiced in the dawn of a prosperous era. Rev. Mr. McGuire was not inclined, as it would seem to accept the proffered position.

Old St. Peter's church built on a modest scale in 1784, supplied with a tower and belfry in 1794, and very considerably enlarged in 1810, was now too small for the congregation, and not in keeping wth the position of the Catholic religion in Halifax. The faith had come to stay ; it had outlived the storms of early persecution, and the sinister attempts of later enemies. The orderly conduct and exemplary piety of the people, the learning and zeal of Dr. Burke, had broken down prejudice, confuted noisy firebrands, and won respect and recognition from the best elements of Halifax Society. Hence we find that on the occasion of a dinner to Lord Dalhousie, given by the St. Andrew's Society in 1818, Bishop Burke was an honoured guest. The Church is the great progressive element in our civilization, not, be it borne in mind, in trading and money making, which with many are synonymous with progress, but in true education, in works of beneficence, in uplifting the masses, and in promoting the higher and finer arts and sciences. It is a curious fact that, whilst the relative stage of civilization of ancient tribes or peoples, is judged, and rightly so, by such

remains as we have of their literature and artistic handiwork, this test is not applied to the middle ages. We have now, not merely fragments and shreds of the work of those ages, but magnificent churches in every country of Europe, paintings and frescoes and wonderful mosaics, innumerable productions of the sculptor's chisel, and a literature exceedingly rich in poetry, philosophy and theology. Apply to those ages the usual test of relative civilization and it will be readily seen how grandly they tower above all preceding ones.

The Catholics of Halifax, led and encouraged by a Prelate as enlightened as Dr. Burke, could not be false to the traditions of the Church in the matter of architecture. A cathedral was required, and Dr. Burke found time, amidst his many occupations, to commence the work. Soon after his consecration he began to collect money for this purpose, and in the spring of 1820, building operations commenced. In the last of his long series of letters to the Archbishops of Dublin, extending over thirty two years, he writes, under date of June 20th, 1820: "We have just begun to build a Cathedral here which will cost us at the least ten thousand pounds sterling. The extreme length of the church is one hundred and six feet, the breadth sixty-six; the wall, lime and stone; cut stone in the whole front." When we consider that there were only about two thousand Catholics in Halifax, and that not until nearly forty years later did any other denomination build a church in brick or stone, we can infer how far Bishop Burke was ahead of his time. Haliburton in his history, 1829, speaking of the churches of Halifax, says: "There is nothing remarkable in the appearance of any of these buildings, except the Catholic Chapel (*sic*) which is an elegant and spacious structure, built of cut free stone." The Church begun in 1820, was finished a few years later; it was enlarged and modernized under Archbishop Connolly, the freestone front was replaced by a noble facade and imposing spire, all of cut granite, and constitutes St. Mary's Cathedral, a church edifice unsurpassed by few on this continent.

The friends of Dalhousie College may be interested in what Bishop Burke wrote to the Bishop of Quebec, regarding Lord



St. Mary's Cathedral, Halifax, N.S.

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Dalhousie, when that nobleman was about to visit Quebec in 1819, "He is the best man I know, a man gentle, humane, without pride or austerity. Your Lordship will not fail to give him a good reception, and his wife also, who resembles him much. He has his chaplain with him, a good fellow, as are also his aids. I recommend them to you."

CHAPTER XIX.

The Man and His Writings.

IN all the notices we have seen of Bishop Burke, ten years are invariably added to his age. This general mistake, no doubt, can be traced to one source, viz., the obituary notice which appeared in the Halifax "Recorder," on the morning of his funeral. In that, as we shall see, his years are given as seventy-eight. This age was subsequently inscribed on his tombstone, and hence, the origin of all future errors. Bishop Burke did not know the day, nor the month, of his birth, but he knew the year. We shall let him explain, for it will give us some insight of life, such as it was, for the Catholics of Ireland in 1753. Writing 26th March, 1810, to the Bishop of Quebec, he says: "You ask my age, and the time of my ordination. Regarding the first, I tell you frankly that I do not know either the day, or the month of my birth, and what is more, I never knew it; neither do I know when, or where, or by whom I was baptized, for I had the happiness to be born in those dark days, when the Catholics of my country, not only baptized their children in secret, but hid them also from the search of ministers, armed with a double-bladed sword, that is, with most atrocious penal laws, such as you would seek for in vain elsewhere, and with fury to destroy every vestige of the Catholic religion. Hence Catholics regarded them as emissaries of the devil, and believed that if they put their hand on a child, that alone would bring down a malediction, and the good people were not far astray. I was thirty-three years of age the year of my arrival in Quebec, in 1786; and I was ordained priest at the beginning of my twenty-third year, in virtue of an Apostolic indult granted to our people." He adds that the Rev. Mr. Grace, whose answer he encloses, was born about

the same time, and apparently knows no more than himself about dates.

Bishop Burke was born, therefore, in 1753, and was, as we have said, in his sixty-sixth year at the time of his consecration. He was a tall man, with a bright eye, and grave, intellectual face. Murdoch, the historian, who doubtless saw him, says he was a "handsome" man, and stooped slightly in his last years. His courage and fearlessness in the performance of his duty, both in the wilds of Michigan and Ohio, as well as in the refined circle of Halifax, have been unconsciously portrayed by himself in his letters. Withal he was of gentle manner, and most considerate of others. His perfect unselfishness in money matters is apparent from his eager wish to make over all he possessed, when in Western Canada, to a religious order, as well as from his action in Halifax. Bishop Plessis gives a glowing tribute of praise to his generous hospitality, and his letters show that he was continually assisting and protecting the friendless, and those whose wants exposed them to temptations. We shall not follow the bad example of those who ruthlessly exploit the letters of the dead, even the loving letters of a parent to a little child, or those of a Bishop, or friend scarcely cold in his grave. Hence the veil which covers his private charities must remain undrawn. He would wish it so.

It can be readily inferred that he did not spend much time in social pastimes, yet he was a genial companion in private life. He waged some hotly contested controversial battles, but avoided personal abuse, and never cherished feelings of animosity. For years he had written against the Rev. Mr. McCullough, a Presbyterian minister residing at Pictou. Neither had ever met the other. One day Bishop Burke noticing a stranger on the street, enquired his name. He was informed that it was Mr. McCullough, his opponent. Dr. Burke went up to his old time foe, introduced himself, invited him to his house where they passed an hour or two in friendly conversation. Each probably found that the other was not so black as he had imagined.

Dr. Burke's natural wit, though kept well in check, served occasionally as a ready answer to carping opposition, or noisy declama-

tion. The ground of the old cemetery was damp and slightly boggy. One member of the congregation, who concluded he had a mission to right all wrongs, was very persistent in advocating a drain, and at every meeting of the parishioners, discanted on the necessity of having the ground thoroughly dry. On one occasion being more prosy than usual on his favorite theme, Dr. Burke quietly remarked, "Oh, my dear sir, do not be over anxious for a dry resting place; perhaps water is the very thing you will be wishing for in the next world." Needless to say the question was postponed for future consideration.

In passing judgment on the literary works of Bishop Burke, we must bear in mind that they are the productions of a man in charge of a large mission, the many active duties of which he faithfully discharged. They are not the carefully wrought out essays of learned leisure; rather they are the spontaneous outpourings of a well stored mind in its odd moments of relaxation from the worries and cares of a heavy charge. Dr. Burke, like all practical and busy men, paid no attention to what the dudes of literature call "finish." He rightly believed that the true mission of the spoken, or written word, is to convey one's ideas clearly, and in correct language, and with as little loss of time as possible. The real actors in the business of life are not those who wear glossy clothes, and faultlessly fitting gloves; nor are the so-called masters of style, the ones who exercise an energizing influence in the intellectual arena. The writer who spends hours in polishing each page affects a class of readers, not unlike in mental idiosyncrasies, to the social one which is impressed by him who devotes much time to brushing his blonde locks, or smoothing the nap on his beaver.

What we do find in Dr. Burke's writings are clearness of exposition, logical arrangement of arguments, and a thorough grasp of the question under treatment. The amount of erudition displayed is prodigious. Latin and Greek and Hebrew were as familiar to him as French or English. Nor was his readings confined to Ecclesiastical authors; he is ready, where required, with a citation from a pagan classic, or a non-Catholic historian or essayist. A man so thoroughly equipped for battle, with so many arrows in his

theological quiver, might be safely counted on to give a creditable account of himself in any controversial fray in which he should engage. He did not write for money; financially his books were a losing speculation. He wrote to correct false impressions regarding Catholic belief, to confute slanders, and to instruct and to arm for defence the members of his flock. Every one read his vigorous onslaughts, and his triumphant defence of some dogma of the Church. He placed religion on a solid and intelligible basis, and compelled respect for its adherents.

His volume on "The First Principles of Christianity" is a clear and ably developed treatise both from reason and Scripture, on Revealed Religion. As a sample of pure reasoning on a subject often discussed in our own day, viz, eternal punishment, we may cite the following: "Some pretend that to inflict an endless punishment for an instantaneous transgression, is inconsistent with justice, with goodness, with mercy, or even with power. These men seem to imagine that the punishment of a crime should be of the same duration with the transgression, a rule observed in no Court of Equity. The punishment is proportioned to the malice of the crime, not to its duration, and the malice of an offence is proportioned to the dignity of the person offended; an offence of the Divinity is of unbounded malice, and deserves endless punishment; it is therefore perfectly consistent with justice. In all countries, for any enormous crime against society, a man is for ever retrenched from that society whether by death or perpetual banishment; an offence against charity, the bond of union among the blessed, is a capital offence against that society, and of course deserves a perpetual exclusion.

"Add to this that not only the act but the desire, and the attachment to any forbidden object, is criminal, and consequently deserving of punishment. The man who perseveres until death in pursuit of any created object, however flattering to his vanity, his ambition or his sensuality, has made his election; he has not only preferred that object to the possession of consummate happiness in the contemplation of his God, in opposition to the dictates of reason, but obstinately persevered in that disposition to the end, and since

death immutably fixes his affection, it must be perpetual, and the correspondent punishment of equal duration. Hence to inflict endless punishment is a necessary effect of justice. It is also perfectly consistent with sovereign goodness: to countenance or encourage evil, is not an effect of goodness, it would rather argue a defect; infinite goodness is infinitely opposite to evil, infinitely remote from evil, and of course infinitely inimical to evil. Whilst this opposition continues, sovereign goodness will exclude and discountenance evil; and since by death the sinner's will is immutably fixed on evil, this opposition must be perpetual."

Then he shows the absurdity of making a comparison between God and a king or parents, and concludes: "In a word, if the man who perseveres in sin to the end, ceases to sin, it is because he ceases to live. His desire of sin is perpetual and the punishment also."

Compared with this logical reasoning, how weak are the arguments sought to be deduced from the attributes of God against eternal punishment.

Dr. Burke had nothing of the Gallican spirit in his theological writings; he was a firm believer in, and upholder of the Pope's prerogative as supreme head on earth, of the universal Church. It is strange that anyone who has read his works should think differently. In his book on "The Ministry of the Church" * he most lucidly demonstrates that the Pope is the fountain source of Ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and defends the action of Pius VII. in suppressing the Sees in France.

On the question of Papal infallibility, whilst admitting it was not a dogma of faith (for it had not then been defined) he brings forward, nevertheless, a lengthy array of arguments from Scripture and the writings of the Fathers in favour of it. Treating of our Lord's words to Peter, (Luke XXII.) "Simon, Simon, behold Satan has desired to have you, &c.," he says:

"He prayed immediately for the perpetual stability of Peter's faith, because on it, as on the rock, is founded the faith of Christians till the end of time, and mediately for that of his fellow Apostles.

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* Dublin, 1817.

Christ knowing the infallible efficacy of his prayer, and in it finding a certain remedy against the instability of human nature, he expressly prescribed that remedy, saying to Peter, "Confirm thy brethren." This must be understood of Peter as chief pastor of the Church, to whose pastoral care even his fellow Apostles were committed. The confirmation of his brethren, being a pastoral duty, must of all necessity descend to his successors. Satan's views of perverting souls were not confined to the Apostles or the Apostolical times; nor was the remedy provided by Christ, against the artifices of that insidious enemy, more necessary in the Apostles' days than in ours. So true it is that Peter's faith must at all times be the rule of ours. In this sense his successors have always understood it."

He next takes up the words of our Saviour charging St. Peter to feed His lambs and His sheep, (John XXI.), and after having quoted some of the Father's reasons in the following manner:

"Peter's commission to feed Christ's flock gives additional weight to the authority of these writers. It is an axiom in law, that when the Supreme power in any state, vests an authority, it communicates, at the same time, all the powers necessary to the exercise of that authority, otherwise the commission would be illusory. Hence it is inconceivable that Jesus Christ, possessed of unlimited power and unerring prescience, should vest an authority in the chief pastor of his Church, without communicating, at the same time, all the powers indispensably requisite to the proper exercise of that authority; of these powers that of teaching sound doctrine is manifestly the first, (Jer. III.), "I will give you pastors according to my heart, and they will feed you with knowledge and doctrine." We know from the book of Nehemiah VIII., 8, that the Hebrew term *Sechel*, imports the sense of the doctrine taught: it is there said, that the Levites read "distinctly in the book of the law of God, and gave the sense of it," *Sem Sechel.* It is, therefore, the first duty of the pastor to teach the doctrines of christianity, and clearly and distinctly explain the genuine sense, in which they are to be understood; hence, Peter Chrysologus, that pious and learned Bishop of Ravenna, in his letter to Eutyches

says, "we exhort you, honourable brother, obediently to attend to these things, which have been written by the most blessed Pope of the Roman city, because the blessed Peter, who lives and presides in his own See, gives the truth of faith to those who seek it. "As for us, continues that Prelate, "the affection which we have for peace and the faith, does not permit us to judge causes of faith without the consent of the Bishop of Rome." He, at least thought the Roman Pontiff's decision, in matters of faith irresistible."

Much more of the same tenor might be cited, but the foregoing is amply sufficient to vindicate, were that necessary, the perfect orthodoxy of his scholarly dissertations. He continued to write after his consecration, and when death came he had almost completed a Treatise on the Sacraments.

Power and vigour of reasoning, vast and varied erudition, honesty of purpose, and fluency of expression, are the characteristics of his writings.

CHAPTER XX.

PASSING AWAY.

"IT is appointed unto all men once to die," declares the Apostle, and weak human nature, taught by every day events, and warned by its own consciousness of decay, pathetically takes up the refrain, and sounds it down the centuries. A stern reality is this death, whether borne on angel wings to kiss into unconsciousness a lovely child, or whirled in a chariot of fire to smite a vigorous youth, or carried slowly forward in the wallet of time to gently garner the ripened fruit of a long and well spent life. A dispeller of illusions, too, is this relentless pursuer of the human family. In the dim light of his presence all artistic groupings of deeds, all dramatic action, all fictitious presentments of our own importance, are ruthlessly shorn of the glamour that ennobled them in our eyes; and we see them only as well or ill-done duties, and perhaps wasted opportunities. The setting sun throws out a shadow startling in its lengthened outlines; and the decline of life's fitful day carries the soul back over its span of years, shadowed too often with phantoms of forgotten misdeeds, of giant-like proportions. The mind is no longer held captive in a network of complex subtleties, such as bias our judgment, or produce indecision during our life: it sees only the yea, yea, or the nay, nay—the systole and diastole of conscience. Death, the pursuer, at length overtakes the pursued, and, fight bravely as he may, the latter is to all human seeming invariably conquered. Yet is there a triumphant ring in the dying cry of the vanquished. "*Non omnis Moriar*"—not all of me shall die, is the challenge the expiring Christian throws down to victorious death, as he calmly passes to a life and a state more real, though less material, than the present.

Dr. Burke had seen death under various forms, and he felt that his own race was nearly run. After his return from Eastern Nova Scotia in September, 1820, he issued, as we have seen, a pastoral letter, replete with salutary instructions, both for priests and people. He arranged his temporal affairs, too, and executed his last will and testament on 20th September. In those days there was no Episcopal Corporation to hold in trust the Church property of the Diocese. Hence Dr. Burke bequeathed all his property, real and personal, both in Nova Scotia and Ontario, to the Rt. Reverend Bishop Plessis of Quebec, Rev. John Carroll, and Michael Tobin Esq., of Halifax, constituting Lawrence Doyle and Patrick Ryan executors of his will. The subscribing witnesses were Rev. Thomas Rice, John Loughan, and Michael McSweeney. His "general intention" was "to provide for the boys' and girls' schools," as we learn from his last letter to Bishop Plessis.

Having thus set his house in order, he was like "the strong man well armed" who guards his dwelling, and keeps all things in peace. He could calmly await the summons which should end his personal activity on earth. The effects, however, of his labours would not end: they were seed-germs of noblest deeds; fecundated by divine grace, and would pullulate and blossom, and fructify in an ever-increasing ratio for the glory of God and the good of souls. As well attempt to destroy the attractive force of matter, as to deprive of enduring consequences a human action. For weal or woe, these consequences will be propagated in an endless series down the ages, unless, or until, a stronger impulse modify or change the source of their reproductiveness.

Bishop Burke was not unprepared for his last malady; he had felt, for some time, its approach. With the fading of the autumn flowers, and the falling of the seared leaves, his erst robust frame grew weak, as if his work, like that of the dying season, had been done. Lying on his deathbed there were no ghosts of misspent years to haunt his sleeping hours, or to affright his waking thoughts. His short, but brilliant Episcopate, rounded, in a fitting manner, the long years of his missionary life. Scarcely two years and four months had passed since his Episcopal consecration, and only a

little more than three years since he had control over the Vicariate, and yet how much had been done. Five priests ordained for his Diocese, two aspirants nearly ready for Holy Orders; several students in college; a school for boys and another for girls, founded, and progressing most favourably; a college inaugurated, in a modest way, it is true, yet with a guarantee of success should his views be carried out; every portion of his large and difficult Diocese visited and blessed by his Episcopal ministrations, and cheered and instructed by his words; finally a cathedral of enduring stone, spacious for the time, and of imposing outline, well under way. When we consider the time with its lack of conveniences, the sparseness of the Catholic population, and their comparative poverty, we can appreciate more fully the vigour and success of Dr. Burke's administration. We can unite with Rev. Mr. McEachan, afterwards Bishop of Charlottetown, in regretting that his promotion had not come fifteen years sooner. In his Vicariate, which comprised only the peninsula of Nova Scotia, he now had as assistants in the work of the ministry, the following clergymen: Rev. Abbé Sigogne, St. Mary's Bay; Rev. A. Doucet, Eelbrook; Rev. Father Grace, Prospect; Rev. Messrs. Thos. Rice, John Carroll and James Dunphy, Halifax; Rev. Denis Geary, Chezzetcook; Rev. Colin Grant, Antigonish; Rev. James Grant, Manchester Guysborough Co., and Rev. Father Vincent, a Trappist Father, at Tracadie. At this time there were in Cape Breton, Rev. Father Gaulin, afterwards Bishop of Kingston, Ont., at Arichat, and Rev. Alexander McDonell at or near Judique.

The attentive reader of these Memoirs can imagine, thanks to the many letters quoted, the varied panorama over which Bishop Burke could look back. For thirty-four years he had lived and laboured in Canada, had loved the country, and felt assured of its future prosperity. His peaceful life at the Seminary of Quebec, his close contact with savage, and half-breed, and debased white men, during two eventful years in the wilds of Ohio and Michigan, his five years of ceaseless journeying and priestly labours in Ontario, and his nineteen years at Halifax, the centre of refinement, as well as of England's power on this continent, during the stirring

period of Napoleon's wars, not to speak of the little brush with the United States, formed an experience such as few are given to contemplate. Through it all he had "fought the good fight," loyal to his faith, zealous for the good of souls, and filled with that charity which seeks not its own, but the things that are of God. He had the friendship and esteem of the leading men of his time, but no word or act of his savouring of flattery, or sycophancy, can be adduced. In a difficult time for Catholics he knew how to obey all just laws of the state, and to despise and set at nought all that attempted to interfere with his religion, or to fetter his sacred ministry. He had a keen sense of man's nothingness in comparison with God, his Creator. Hence, when death drew near, he requested his attendants to lift him from his bed to the floor.* Lying in this suppliant posture he calmly resigned his beautiful soul to God, on Wednesday, 29th November, 1820. For three days his mortal remains lay in state, and were viewed by many thousands. Death not only levels the inequalities of rank, but it breaks down, too, all walls of division. In rightly constituted minds all antagonism dies with the antagonist; and where only faults were seen, or perhaps looked for, now only the virtues and good qualities of the departed flash on the mental view. Around the bier of the sturdy champion of the Church and her rights, only expressions of sorrow and admiration were heard. Men realized that they had lived with one of those strong personalities which sum up and embody all that is best of their age, and from whose action, future generations date an epoch. The Catholic congregation mourned a father who had lovingly watched over their interests, a pastor who had fed them with the word of truth, and the bread of life, and a leader who had built on broad and deep foundations the spiritual edifice of their faith and charity.

The sentiments of the non-Catholic community can be gathered from the following obituary, printed in the Acadian "Recorder," on Saturday, December 2nd, 1820. As already pointed out the age

*A venerable lady whose mother was present, gave me this interesting information.

of Bishop Burke at the time of his death was not seventy-eight, but sixty-eight. Moreover, the British Government had not the slightest act or part in his promotion. We deem it well to emphasize this.

OBITUARY.

Died :

" On Wednesday last, universally regretted, as he lived respected, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Burke, in the 78th year of his age. He was a native of the Co. Kildare (Ireland), and parish priest of the town of Kildare ; which he vacated at the frequent and urgent solicitations of some of the professors of the Seminary of Quebec, and arrived in Lower Canada 2nd of August (1780).* There he officiated as a clergyman, and taught the higher branches of mathematics and philosophy with great credit to himself and benefit to the numerous students, who crowded to hear the lectures of a man celebrated in the University of Paris, as excelling most men of his day in mathematical science, and also the classics, particularly in the Greek and Hebrew languages, till Lord Dorchester appointed him, as a faithful and capable person, to reconcile the many powerful tribes of Indians, inhabiting the country around Lake Superior, and the back parts of the Ohio and the Louisiana, who at that time manifested dispositions very hostile to the British Government.†

Among the savage tribes of Indians he resided six or seven years, suffering every privation that civilized man could endure, till he fully accomplished the object of his mission. He instructed the heathen Indian in the principles of the Christian religion, and impressed on his mind a knowledge of the true living God—by whose assistance he inculcated into his savage mind sentiments of loyalty, obedience and lasting friendship for his great worldly father, King George the Third. Government rewarded these important services by granting Dr. Burke a pension for life.

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*1786 is the correct date.

†Bishop Hubert appointed him on Lord Dorchester's request.

His vanity would have been excited, if he had any, by the sincere and cordial friendship of the late much lamented Duke of Kent; as also of every military and naval officer who successively commanded in British America for the last thirty years; very many of whom, it may be said, all entertained so good an opinion of his sound judgment and zealous loyalty, as to consult him on the most important points of their intended operations, before they put them into execution. His advice and opinions during the late American war were gratefully acknowledged by the two great men who then commanded, and by them honourably reported to His Majesty's ministers, who in approbation of Dr. Burke's loyalty and learning, used their influence with the See of Rome to appoint and ordain him Bishop of Zion and Vicar Apostolic in Nova Scotia.*

It would appear superfluous to enlarge on the merits of this truly good and pious man, in this province, where his charity, disinterestedness, learning and loyalty are so generally known and acknowledged by all classes of the community, for the last twenty years that he has resided here as Vicar General of the Diocese of Quebec. But some men, ignorant of his true character, may attach bigotry and intolerance to it, from his polemical writings and publications! This would be a false picture, as he never wrote or published a controversial argument in his life with any other view than justification of himself and the tenets of his religion, every one of which he firmly believed and supported against learned and able assailants. Not one of these learned gentlemen will accuse him of bigotry, intolerance, want of charity and benevolence to all mankind, as there was not a son or daughter of Adam, no matter of what religious creed, or if any, that he would not cheerfully take by the hand, and, if possible, conduct them to heaven.

The numerous poor of Halifax, as also the unfortunate inhabitants of the gaol, will have ample cause to lament his death, as he always relieved their distress, even to the last shilling—nay, more;

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*Inaccurate, as we have seen.

he would borrow money to do it. The writer can assert without fear of contradiction, that no man, let his creed, country or colour be what it may, ever departed from his door without receiving the boon of charity. Reader, let us imitate the good qualities and practise the benevolent actions of this worthy prelate, now no more. By so doing we will be true and loyal subjects to our king and constitution, charitable to our fellow creatures, moral in our conduct, respectful and obedient to the constituted authorities of the province, pious and honest in our sentiments and dealings; which will secure us respect and peace of mind here, and eternal happiness hereafter.

The mortal remains of this good man will, agreeably to his own injunctions, be entombed in a private manner, this morning, between the hours of 9 and 10 o'clock."

With the loving sorrow of his spiritual children to adorn, and the grateful prayers and blessings of the poor and unfortunate to hallow his lowly grave, quietly and unostentatiously as he had lived, he was laid to rest in God's acre, adjoining old St. Peter's Church. Nova Scotia, the first portion of Canada cut off from Quebec, was early widowed, and the fair promises of her first days of Ecclesiastical autonomy were, by various adverse circumstances, delayed of fruition. After the opening of the present Cemetery of Holy Cross, Dr. Walsh, first Archbishop of Halifax, caused the remains of his illustrious predecessor to be exhumed, and had them reinterred in the new cemetery. In the Halifax " Sun " of May 6th, 1846, we read :

" The remains of the Venerable Bishop Burke, were disinterred on Thursday last, from the grave where they had rested for so many years, in the old Catholic burial ground, and transferred to the little chapel in the new cemetery, where they remained till yesterday, when they were again committed to the earth with due solemnity, thousands of persons having visited the chapel in the interim, to get a glimpse of the leaden coffin which contained the sacred dust, and to offer up their prayers therein. An immense concourse of persons were present at the reinterment, and the scene witnessed was highly imposing. We understand it is in contemplation event-

ually to erect a suitable monument over the grave of the honoured dead."

The "Cross," a Catholic paper, had the following in its issue of May 9th, 1846:

"On Sunday evening matins and lauds for the dead were recited, and on Monday morning the Rev. Mr. Nugent offered up the Holy Sacrifice in the Cemetery Church. After Mass Dr. Walsh performed the absolution over the coffin. On Tuesday morning, the day appointed for the funeral, an incessant stream of human beings was pouring from every direction towards the new cemetery. The Church was soon filled, the three doors in front were thrown open, and an immense multitude who could not obtain admittance offered up their prayers outside. At 9 o'clock, the office of the dead was commenced by the Bishop and Clergy, after which High Mass was sung by the Rev. Mr. Nugent, attended by Rev. Messrs. Tracy and Hennesy, as Deacon and Sub-deacon. After Mass and the absolution, a funeral procession was formed, and advanced through the cemetery, the Bishop and Clergy chanting the usual Psalms. Having arrived at the grave, the coffin was lowered, the last solenm rites were performed by Dr. Walsh, and the clergy preceded by the Cross, returned to the church reciting the *De profundis*. Thus after the lapse of a quarter of a century was renewed honour given to the hallowed remains of an illustrious Irishman, an erudite and virtuous Bishop, a devoted and affectionate pastor."

A modest slab with a suitable inscription marks the spot where he rests after his well filled day.

Had Dr. Burke obtained a Coadjutor, the development of the Church in Halifax would not have been retarded. Unfortunately the Bishop of Quebec tried to induce Rome to take a retrograde step, a thing which she never does, although she frequently suspends action. It is difficult to understand why a man of the ability, and with the experience of Monsigneur Plessis should have desired the suppression of the Vicariate of Nova Scotia. True, it was independent of Quebec as a Vicariate, whilst incorporated with New Brunswick under an auxilliary Bishop, it would revert to its former state of dependence, and, we must suppose, to

its former state of somnolence. As already seen Quebec did not supply Missionaries even to the Acadians, but frankly told Father Jones that they must become accustomed to English speaking clergymen. Moreover, the zeal of the Irish and Scotch, in all their poverty and persecution, was the only resource the authorities of Quebec could suggest for obtaining priests, for Nova Scotia. Perhaps, indeed, Bishop Plessis may have felt that he was now in a position to furnish missionaries, and he may have desired to atone in some measure, for the very meagre aid extended to Acadia from the time of the expulsion. Thanks, however, to the considerateness of Father Jones, for the Acadians, and to the spirit of justice of Dr Burke, these faithful remnants of a valiant race had been happily provided with priests speaking their own language. The stranger had done for them what their own had admitted they could not do. The Acadians are a grateful people, and are not likely to forget, or undervalue the services of their benefactors.

Whilst we cannot assign motives for the action of Bishop Plessis, we have the fact that he endeavoured to effect the suppression of the new Vicariate, and delayed for a time the appointment of a successor to Bishop Burke. In the Archives of Propaganda for the year 1820, we find the following, which we translate from the Italian: "Monsignor Plessis, Archbishop of Quebec, in a *Pro Memoria* of 17th November, 1819, proposed to the Sacred Congregation the incorporation of the Vicariate Apostolic of Nova Scotia to that of New Brunswick. In a recent letter of 8th January of this year, in making known the vacancy of the Vicariate of Nova Scotia, by the death of Monsignor Edmund Burke, he renewed the memorial and revived his instances for the execution of his above mentioned project.

"The erection of the Vicariate of Nova Scotia is of very recent date, for it has had only one Vicar Apostolic, in the person of the already named Prelate. Such a hasty suppression of a Vicariate which contains nine thousand Catholics, and counts various pious establishments, amongst them the Seminary of St. Margaret,*

*No doubt the College in Halifax is intended.

should not be undertaken so lightly. The Cardinal Prefect in his letter of 14th April last, past, did not fail to bring to the notice of the Archbishop of Quebec the difficulties to be incurred by such a step. He thought it advisable, however, to invite the Archbishop to lay before the Sacred Congregation the reasons which could justify such an action, and make known its utility. Pending this request, the Cardinal Prefect deems it prudent to defer the nomination of a new Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia, and await the reasons which the Archbishop of Quebec may produce. and thus proceed in the affair with full knowledge of the cause."

This unfortunate interference of the Bishop of Quebec prolonged the vacancy in the Vicariate of Nova Scotia to the span of years embraced by the Egyptian famine. Luckily, or rather providentially, as in this case, so in that one, there had been a Joseph to foresee, and provide for a dreary future of seven unfruitful years. The energetic and wise action of Bishop Burke, during his short reign, had insured the people against actual spiritual starvation; but vigorous and healthy development was stayed. Rome proceeds cautiously—age has taught her that it is frequently a more happy solution to allow lapsing time to untie the gordian knot, than to cut it with the ready sword. But she never makes a backward step; she may pause and examine well the ground; when, however, a movement is again made, it will be a forward one. Hence on 24th June, 1827, Rt. Rev. William Fraser was consecrated Bishop, and became the second Vicar Apostolic of Nova Scotia.

APPENDIX A.

Partial list of Misssonaries who laboured in Acadia from 1604 to the Expulsion, 1755. They were in the country at the dates mentioned; in many cases for years before, and for years after.

1604—Rev. Nicholas Aubry and another priest came over with De Monts expedition : the latter died at Port Royal. The former baptized the first white child born in what is now Canada.

1610—Rev. Jesse Fleche. Under him the first missionary work on the continent, north of Florida, began. Poutrincourt granted deeds of land at Port Royal this year.

1611—Rev. Fathers Biard and Masse, Jesuits.

1613—Rev. Jacques Quetin, S.J.

1619—Two Recollet Fathers.

1629—Fathers Vieulpont and Vimot, S.J.

1631—Colonists and priests of a religious order settled at Cap Sable.

1634—Rev. Julian Perrault, S.J. He wrote the "Relations" for 1635.

1636—Rev. Andrew Richard, and Rev. George D'Endemare, S.J.

1640—Pere Ignace and other Capuchins had a college.

1645—Pere Rousand and other Recollets.

1648—Rev. Cosmas de Mante had been for some years Superior of the Recollets in Acadia.

1652—Rev. Martin de Lyonne, S.J., who died a martyr of charity at Cheadabucto.

1654—Pere Leonard de Chartres.

1659—Rev. Jacques Fremin, S.J.

1660—Two Jesuit Fathers in Acadia, according to Bishop Laval's report to Rome.

1671—Rev. Laurent Molin, Recollet.

1676—Rev. Louis Petit. On 30th October, 1678, he was constituted parish priest of Port Royal, the second parish established in Canada. In 1690 was taken prisoner to Boston, but was back again 1692.

1676—Mission formed at Beaubassin and attended by a Recollet Father, Claude Moireau, I think, until 1685.

1683—Rev. Louis Peter Thury for a short time. He returned again 1686.

1684—Two Fathers of the Order of Penitentiaries.

1686—Rev. Claude Trouvé.

1692—Rev, Messrs, St. Cosmas and Baudoin.

1693—Revs. Alexander Doucet and Peter Volant de Saint Claude.

1696—Rev. M. de Mandoux Curé, Port Royal.

1698—Rev. Anthony Gaulin. He laboured chiefly among the Indians. His name is signed to the Register of Port Royal, 1731-32.

1701—Revs. Justinian Durand and Felix Pain, Recollets, who laboured for many years.

1708—Pere Patrice Rensé.

1711—Rev. Felix Cappes, Recollet, Pere Masson. At this time Sam Vetch writes: "A great many missionaries are amongst them" (the Acadians). Only one, he says, had been caught and sent to Boston.

1716—Messrs. Dominic de la Marche and Gratien Raoul. At this time five missionaries were supported by the French Government

1724—Pere Isidore at Windsor, Pere Sanquiest, Sup. of Recollets at Louisbourg. Pere Breslay at Port Royal.

1725—Rev. Fathers Ignace, Pierre, Jocunde and Charlemagne, in Acadia and Cape Breton.

1729—Rev. Jean Baptiste Brault, V. Gen., in Acadia.

1730—Rev. Alexander de Noinville du Glefien.

1732—Messrs. Lesclaches, Monfils, Goudalie and Claude de Saint Poncy de la Vernede.

1736—Rev. M. Chauvreulx.

1737—Abbe de St. Vincent and La Loutre.

1739—Rev. M. Vauquelin.

1740—Rev. M. de Manach for many years.

1741—Abbe Maillard, who died at Halifax 1762.

1742—Rev. M. Desenclaves.

1746—Rev. M. Girard.

1754—Rev. M. Daudin.

1755—The year of the expulsion there were in English Acadia Messrs. Desenclaves, De la Goudalie, De Chauvreulx, Daudin and Lemaire. In French Acadia, Messrs. La Loutre, De Manach, Visien, and Le Guerne. On the St. John River, M. Coquart and several Jesuit priests.

1758—When Louisbourg was taken there were several Recollet Fathers, and the Abbe Maillard in Cape Breton, On P. E. Island there were Revs. M. M. Girard, Cassiette, Biscarat and Dosque.

After the expulsion and the capture of Louisbourg, only two priests were left, viz.; Desenclaves, who hid with some of his flock in the woods of Argyle, and the Abbe Maillard, who came to Halifax.

Complete List of Priests who laboured in the "Mission of Nova Scotia," which included Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, P. E. Island and the eastern part of New Brunswick, from the expulsion, 1755, to the death of Bishop Burke, 1820. With the exception of the two first, the year opposite their names is that of their arrival.

1755—Abbe Maillard and Desenclaves.
1768—Rev. M. Bailly.
1772—Rev. M. McDonald, P. E. Island.
1773—Pere De La Brosse, S.J.
1775—Rev. Joseph Mathurin Bourg. As a boy of ten years he was one of the expelled Acadians.
1785—Rev. Father Jones.
1786—Rev. M. Leroux and Rev. Wm. Phelan.
1787—Rev. M. Power.
1789—Rev. Mr. Grace.
1790—Revs. Laurence Whelan and Aeneas McEachan.
1791—Rev. James McDonald.
1792—Rev. M. M. Lejamtel and Allain.
1799—Abbe Sigogne, De Calonne, Pichard, or sometimes written Pilchart, Rev. Edmund Burke (not Bishop Burke), and Rev. M. Champion.
1801—Rev. Edmund Burke, afterwards Bishop.
1802—Revs. Alexander McDonell and James Austin McDonald.
1803—Rev. M. Ciquard. He had previously laboured along the St. John River, and at Madawaska.
1810—Rev. M. Dufresne.
1811—Rev. Alexander McDonnell.
1812—Rev. M. M. Beaubien and Brodeur. The former was the first priest sent by Quebec to P. E. Island in fifty-seven years.
1814—Rev. M. Mignault.
1815—Rev. M. Gaulin and Pere Vincent, who eventually founded the Trappist Monastery at Tracadie, N. S., and M. Manseau.
1816—Rev. Paul McQuade at St. John.
1817—Revs. Ph. Larrissey, Le Francois (for six months), André Doucet and Wm. Chisholm.
1818—Revs. Colin Grant, Jos. E. Cecile and Antoine Gagnon.
1819—Revs. Thomas Rice, Denis Geary, and James Grant, ordained by Bishop Burke, Rev. M. M. Molland and Madran.
1820—Revs. James Dunphy and John Carroll, ordained by Bishop Burke. A Rev. Mr. Fitzgerald was in Halifax for six months in the early years of the century; but was only waiting for a passage to St. John's, Newfoundland.

APPENDIX B.

(Translation of a letter written from Port Royal, 1618, by Biencourt, son of Poutrincourt, who now signs himself Poutrincourt, as successor of his deceased father.)

"To the Authorities of the City of Paris.

"PORT ROYAL, NEW FRANCE,

"1st September, 1618.

"GENTLEMEN,—

"As it is so ordered that human society is sustained by mutual aid, I have thought it would be a pleasing service were I to give you an account of an affair which is of great importance to the interests of your city, which, as is well known, is supported for a good part of the year out of the abundance of this country. My late father, Monsieur de Poutrincourt, and myself, have, during the last fourteen years, done our best to be useful to France in this respect, and to plant here the French name and together with it the name of God.*

"Years ago all these people (the Indians) were disposed to receive Holy Baptism, when the sad death of my late sire and father, killed in a cowardly manner in the service of the king at the siege of Meri-sur-Seine, three years ago, gave a check to the work begun. But whilst this is most regrettable, we have also to regret that little by little the French name will disappear in these parts unless prompt measures be taken; and for your supply of codfish (the great manna of your city and of Europe which this country naturally affords) you will be made dependent on the will of the English, who treat us in a hostile manner here, and who have driven away the Jesuits, having taken them captive with their luggage, burnt our houses, and this very summer captured a ship from Dieppe. In the meantime they are forming strong colonies in Virginia and Bermuda, whither they send some colonists every year, and lately a fleet from England, with five hundred men and a number of women, passed this way, and took in a supply of wood and water in my neighbourhood. There is a special Council (or department) for Virginia, and schools in London for the instruction of the natives, and they (the natives) promise the English that when they shall have all the country over there, they can easily have this part here.*

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* There had been no break, therefore, in the history of the colony, and France had been yearly receiving great supplies of fish from its shores.

* The knowledge here displayed by Biencourt of the acts and intentions of the English, is something marvellous, in one living for the past fourteen years in New France, and must win for him the admiration of all generous spirits. It proves also the continuous intercourse between Port Royal and other parts.

"This is not a matter to be despised; you are the fathers of the people and you must not allow the bread to be snatched from their hands. The designs of the English must be frustrated, now that we perceive them, and we should endeavour to have this country peopled by the French and fortified by two or three forts along the coast for their security, and to protect the right of fishing here, which is worth a million in gold every year to France. A small outlay will suffice for this, gentlemen; there will be need of two or three ships going to and fro which will carry gratuitously those who may wish to come hither, and a small sum for the sustenance of the poorer for a time, as it will be necessary to make this first outlay, by means of which you can send hither the healthy poor, and relieve many families burthened with numerous offspring, and place in easy circumstances many who now suffer in silence and who are ashamed to make known their wants; for if barbarous tribes can live here, why shall not those live to whom God has given a knowledge of so many industries and who will have France near to supply them with the necessaries for those industries and for life.

"The land here, gentlemen, is good for cultivation; game and wild animals abound, and fish are very plentiful, and I would not exchange this land for Peru if it were only properly settled.

"Make, then, gentlemen, this small outlay, and have the glory of having planted here the name of God and of being the first to colonize this country, and make use of us as much as you can. We have explored all these coasts at the risk of our lives; they are all known to us, and we understand and speak the language of the natives.

"Will you permit for such trifles the French name to be dishonoured in all this land? You who have a ship on your shield—(referring to the arms of the the city of Paris)—as a reminder of the naval victories of your ancestors, will you tarnish that glory and refuse to aid and encourage commerce with New France, which will repay one day the outlay with abundant usury, for besides the great manna of the fisheries its woods and meadows will be filled bye and bye, and will supply you with abundance of leather, fat, meat, and butter and cheese for the benefit of your people; moreover, the woods here will supply you with ships, charcoal, and building material which you now import from Sweden and Denmark, by a longer and more dangerous voyage than that from this place.

"I would have many more things to say on this point, gentlemen, which I omit, not wishing to weary you, and shall only say that if this country has been hitherto despised, it was through ignorance and by the malice of traders.

"People say, it is a long time since we heard talk of Canada, and we have not yet profited by it. I answer, we have been left a long time unassisted, and it is easy to criticise in the midst of idleness or seated at ease in your chair.

" I shall only call again your attention to the English, leaving you to reflect on their designs, and I pray God, gentlemen, to give you an increase of all prosperity.

" Your very humble servant,

" POUTRINCOURT."

APPENDIX C.

Extract from a letter of Bishop Saint Vallier, in which he gives an account to a friend, of his first visit to New France, when only Vicar General.*

As I was obliged to visit as much as possible, all the French settlements of Acadia, to learn for myself the state of this new colony, I called at Richibuctou, Shediac (Chediak), Isle Saint Jean (P. E. I.), which struck me as being most beautiful, Cape Louis, Little Canso, Fronsac and Chedaboucton, where I wished to remain a little time to inspect the fishing station, established there about two years previously by a French company, which receiving aid and succour from the king, will be able, in the future, to repay with interest the advances made, provided that there be sent thither every year some inhabitants, especially fishermen ; and that they be provided with boots and nets, and allowing them after a time to fish on their own account, they will be able, with a little assistance, after a few years, to begin the clearing of the land. The commandant of the fort is Monsieur de la Boullaye, lieutenant of the King for the province, an honourable man and deeply interested in the success of the company ; there are fifty Frenchmen engaged in the fishing industry, whom two Fathers, of the order of Penitentiaries, of the Province of Normandy, carefully instruct in their religion. These good religious men say Mass every day, and diligently fulfil their pastoral duties.

A company of soldiers, some of whom should be fishermen, and others labourers and artisans, would, in my opinion, do wonders in that place.

In going from there to Beau Bassin, we had to suffer considerably, especially the last three days during a portage of the prairie, on which the heat of the season exposed us to the irritating bites of the mosquitoes ; it appeared to me that this experience was necessary to enable us to sympathize with the poor people, who, during that season, are exposed to the relentless persecution of those little pests whilst working in the woods or fields.

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*Mand. Queb., Vol. I.

The situation of Beau Bassin is charming ; it is watered by several fairly large rivers, which, after having formed five islands, fall into a cove about five or six leagues in circumference, which forms one of the most beautiful natural harbours of the world. The entrance of this harbour, although only half a league wide, nevertheless is not dangerous, and it serves as a connection with the Baie Francaise (Bay of Fundy), which is said to have a coast-line of at least two hundred leagues. There are one hundred and fifty souls in this settlement, without counting three families of Christian Indians who are living there and growing Indian corn. About ten years ago the first Frenchmen came to this place from Port Royal : in the beginning they were obliged to live chiefly on herbs : afterwards they had great difficulty in growing wheat, because the fertile land was inundated by the tide, and to prevent this it was necessary to build dikes, at great labour and expense. At present they are in more easy circumstances, and as there is an abundance of pasturage in the vicinity, they have let loose a number of cows and other animals which they brought from Sable Island, where the late Commandant de Rasilly, having formerly left them, they had become almost wild, and could only be approached with difficulty ; but they are becoming tame little by little, and are of great advantage to each family, who can easily have a good number of them. At present they grow a little grain and work at the fishing, both that of salmon in the bay, as well as codfish, which are only sixty leagues distant. If a vessel from France could bring them every year cloths and other little commodities, it would find a return cargo of wood, boards and dried salmon. The English, to whom they applied in their want, gave them but little help, and necessity drove them to make for themselves some coarse linen and other cloths : but they cannot manufacture sufficient for all their wants.

Their spiritual wants had been attended to up to that time by a Recollet Father, but he having been called to Quebec to become the Superior of their House, I gave them, as they desired it, a priest, who should be their pastor. They deserve to be looked after ; they are very good people, who fear God, live in peace, and who would be altogether irreproachable if they had been more reserved in their traffic of liquor with the Indians. They listened to my advice on this point with much docility, and they nearly all performed their devotions with a great appearance of piety. Their Chapel is small ; the roof is thatched ; the walls of the building cannot last long, so it is necessary to think about constructing another, as well as a house for the priest ; a cemetery should be procured near by, for the one now in use is too distant ; moreover it is necessary to cross a river to reach it. God will provide, if it be pleasing to Him, for all these wants.

From thence I passed on to the Mines ; this settlement was so called on account of the proximity of a ridge, where according to all appearances, there is a mine of copper, which was pointed out to us as we passed along. The

inhabitants are young men, well built, and hard working, who left Port Royal like those of Beau Bassin, whose example they followed in draining their marshes. I spent a day there to satisfy their devotion ; I was engaged in the morning in giving instructions and hearing confessions, and in giving them Communion at my mass ; and in the afternoon in baptising some children and in settling some differences which had arisen between them.

They urged me, when leaving, to give them a priest, and they promised me not only to support him, but also to build a church and a parochial house on an island belonging to one of them, who offered it to me for that purpose, in whole or in part, according as might be required.

In our journey to Port Royal, after nine days of a disagreeable passage, during which we scarcely slept, and thought we should be lost, our provisions ran short, on the feast of St. James (July 25th), and we, not being inclined to go back ten leagues, were obliged to disembark and take the road through the woods which led to the Fort. Monsieur de Villebon, commander of the place in the absence of the Governor, received me with military honours, and showed me all possible attention. My principal pleasure was to see on the feast of St. Anne the fervour with which the greater part received the sacraments. They listened very attentively to the word of God, and they appeared to me sincerely disposed, notwithstanding it was against their interest, to lessen their traffic in liquor with the Indians if it should be judged necessary, even conjuring me to obtain new regulations on this point and to help to execute those which the king had already promulgated in all the colony, so as not to retard the conversion of so many Indians, who it would appear would become perfect Christians were it not for this one obstacle.

The Church is fairly pretty and reasonably well provided with all requisites. I have placed there a second ecclesiastic to assist the pastor who could not attend to all, and who having heard of my arrival in Quebec, gave me by anticipation a statement of everything in a letter, dated 22nd October, 1685, in the following words :—

"This settlement, he says, is composed of about eighty families, amounting to at least six hundred souls, a people naturally gentle and inclined to piety ; neither swearing nor debauchery nor drunkness is known amongst them. Although they are scattered along the river for a distance of four or five leagues, they come in crowds to the church on Sundays and holidays and frequently receive the Sacraments. God forbid that I should attribute their piety to my feeble care, I found them such on my arrival ; and nevertheless they had been without priests for fifteen or sixteen years under the domination of the English ; I must render this glory to God, and this justice to them. I have with me a man gifted with virtue and talent for the instruction of youth : living with me he teaches with good results, a school for boys in my house ; I myself teach the catechism to the girls in the church. This man is the only one to whom

I can open my heart about holy things, not having in the neighborhood any other spiritual succour during the nine years that I have been without a companion, without counsel in the midst of a thousand difficulties which may readily come to a person, who like me, has passed the greater part of his life in a state so different from that in which I now am,* and who am warned by my bodily infirmities to prepare myself for death. This I confess is my greatest cross not having anything except satisfaction in regard to my dear parishioners who have too much kindness and consideration for me Your predecessor, my Lord, sent Monsieur Thury here to console me, he has retraced his steps to give an account of his apostolic mission ; he can give you in one interview a better account of our state than I could by the longest of letters ; be pleased then to grant him an audience quickly, and send him back to us without delay with another priest if possible who could go not only to visit several poor families, who have settled about sixteen leagues from here, where they are almost abandoned, neither Father Claude nor myself being able to visit them ; but who would go thirty or forty leagues distant to Cape Sable, to the St John River and other circumjacent places along this coast where there are no missionaries. Monsieur de Saint Castin asks for a priest for Pentagoet where he usually resides with the Indians who are desirous of being instructed. This gentlemen has need himself of spiritual aid to keep him in the right path. He came to this country at the age of fifteen years as an ensign of Monsieur de Chamblay ; and having been obliged at the taking of Pentagoet to seek safety in the woods with the Indians, he has been constrained to accomodate himself to their manner of life. He is natnrally of a good disposition, and deserves to be helped ; we here are under many obligations to him ; as he is in good circumstances and is generous, he frequently gives large alms to our Church, which without his assistance, and the legacy of another private individual, would be much poorer than it is ; I never enter it without remembering him, and when he comes to see me, which is usually twice a year, he is delighted to assist at our Sunday service which is carried out with all the decorum which is possible for us to observe. On these days we always sing a High Mass, at which I give a simple instruction according to my poor ability and adapted to the capacity of my audience. At two o'clock we sing Vespers, which is followed by Benediction of the most Holy Sacrament and a lesson in catechism to the girls. When I came here I knew very little of plain chant, we had not even the books of the choir ; but as they sent us some books from Paris this year, and as I practised frequently with some of the young men, we are able to sing a little, the Psalmody will improve litte by little. To supply the place of clerics we have ten or a dozen young boys who assist us in the singing and in the ceremonies like choirists, in red cassocks and surplices ; and it seems to me if we had another priest all would go

* He had been an officer in the army.

well. I know, my Lord, that this would entail an increased expenditure, and that the Seminary of Quebec, which, up to the present has spent a great deal, might not be in a position to add this to the other expenses ; but when you return to France perhaps you will find at the Court or elsewhere some special fund to forward so good a work ; it is enough for me to make known in all humility my views, and then leave the rest to your zeal."

It was thus that this virtuous ecclesiastic wrote me from which you can judge how great is his consolation at present. I had sent him the Rev. Mr. Thury, whom he requested for the Mission de la Croix, and I brought with me, as I have already said, another priest to assist him at Port Royal. The service will be better performed and the ceremonies will be proportionally the same as in Quebec ; during the winter they will more easily be able to baptize the children in houses distant from the Church, where now laymen too readily baptize them, and they will be able to attend more easily to the instruction of the young, who up to the present have been well cared for. I saw with pleasure that a good sister, whom I had sent hither from Quebec, had already done much good for the women and girls ; her house will be henceforth a centre for the one and the other ; she will teach some to read, to write, and to work ; she will be able to take boarders, and may find amongst their number those who would be able to succeed herself, and she perhaps may even make of it a nursery for school mistresses to supply the whole country. Would to God that I may have the happiness to see this as soon as possible, and to be able to have side by side with it a small community of ecclesiastics who might supply pastors and missionaries for the places around about, and to be able to send them in search of the Indians, even in the colonies subject to England.

This was the wish that I formed before leaving Port Royal to retrace my way to Beau Bassin. Here all the people received the sacraments again, when I finished certain affairs which I had left incomplete. I called again at Miramichi ; instead of taking again the route by Restigouche and Matan for Quebec, I took the one by Isle Percée, where I knew my presence would not be useless.

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